

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

BRER RABBIT NOT CAUGHT THIS TIME!



"Now, Brer Rabbit, which sauce would you like to be eaten with?" Brer Fox, he says.
"I don't mean to be eaten at all!" says Brer Rabbit, says she.
"Now, you're getting away from the point," Brer Fox, says he."

CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
Our Cartoon..... 401	The New Players..... 409
The Outlook..... 401	Incitements..... 410
A Police Court Impression. By Frederick Ryan..... 403	The Home Office and the Home Views of Prominent Men and Women..... 412
Announcements..... 403	Newington Sessions..... 413
Saving up for the Albert Hall..... 403	Welcome and Au Revoir..... 415
Contributions to the £250,000 Fund..... 403	At the Steinway Hall..... 415
Pen Portraits of Leaders and Editors..... 404	Nurse Pitfield..... 415
The Conspiracy Charge..... 405	Some Press Opinions..... 416
A Social Disease, and other Reviews..... 408	Setting Back the Sun Dial..... 416
The Drama of Loyalty. By H. W. N..... 409	The Church and Woman Suffrage..... 416
A New Woman Playwright. By R. P..... 409	Our Post Box..... 417
	Campaign Throughout the Country..... 417
	General News..... 419

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

It is a remarkable sign of the progress made in the last few years that nowadays, when the Government, owing to the exigencies of other business, take a day originally allotted to the discussion of Woman Suffrage, their first idea, and that of everybody else, is the provision of another day in its stead. This is indeed an innovation. Time was when to take the women's day was a favourite method of preventing debate on the Suffrage question. The Suffragists,

though their hearts were filled with bitterness and grief, used to submit to this as to a decree of fate itself. How things have changed!

The Conciliation Bill.

The second reading division on the Conciliation Bill takes place after we go to press. We therefore reserve further comment on the matter until next week, and content ourselves for the moment with saying that the result of the division, whether it be favourable or unfavourable to the Bill, will not in the slightest degree affect the agitation by the Women's Social and Political Union for the enactment of a Government measure for Woman Suffrage.

"Celestials."

News of the growing movement comes from all the world. In Rome the Parliamentary Commission has approved a Bill to give the franchise to all women of twenty-five possessing certain qualifications of education and property. Last week the first meeting for Women's Suffrage held in Vienna was a splendid success. In Bohemia the Czech women are demanding equal rights of citizenship. But the most remarkable news comes from Nankin. We have shown what a magnificent part Chinese women have all along taken in the present uprising for freedom.

They assisted in the very beginning of the movement, and some of them were executed in consequence. They then formed a battalion of "Amazons," and fought as regular soldiers, armed and in uniform, as we proved by a recent photograph on our front page. Now we read in a telegram from Nankin of March 22:

A party of Amazons, dissatisfied with a lukewarm expression of approval of the principle of votes for women recently passed by the Assembly, invaded the Assembly House, broke the windows, mauled the guards, and terrorised the members of the Assembly themselves. The latter sent for soldiers for their protection, but were forced into reopening the discussion on the woman suffrage question.

According to another message, the Nankin Assembly finally granted the suffrage to all Chinese women on the same terms as men.

Something like militancy there! And no talk about "setting back the clock." Yet these were the women who, till the other day, were encouraged to bind up their feet to the size of castors as the noblest of feminine distinctions. Is even China going to beat us?

Our Critics.

It will be exceedingly interesting to know what are the views upon Suffragist militancy in China held by those who, while sympathising with Sun Yat Sen and the recent Chinese Revolution, condemn the women's revolution here at home. Will they applaud the Chinese women's militancy because it occurs so far away as China, or will they condemn it because it is the militancy of women and not of men? One of the critics in question, Mr. Crawshaw Williams (who in this matter seems to be quite Sir William Byles's right-hand man), has again publicly made the announcement that the militants are to receive crushing proof of the futility of their tactics. In the course of a letter to the *Times* he says: "I desire

TO LONDON READERS.

ROYAL ALBERT HALL MEETING, Thursday, March 28, at 8 p.m.

Chair: Miss ANNIE KENNEY.
Speakers: Mrs. ANNIE DESANT, Miss ELIZABETH ROBINS,
Miss EVELYN SHARP, Mr. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
Full Reports of Speeches next week.

to see the folly of the militant tactics so thoroughly exposed and demonstrated that in future no one but a lunatic or a traitor to the cause of Woman Suffrage will sympathise with such futile rowdism, support it financially, or remain a member of a society which practises it. This end Mr. Crawshaw Williams proposes to achieve by voting against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill. Considering that the militants place not the smallest reliance on the passage of this or any unofficial measure, Mr. Crawshaw Williams's little scheme is inept and feeble in the extreme. We would inform him once again that whether the Conciliation Bill passes the second reading or not, the W.S.P.U. will pursue their undeviating course towards securing the passage of a Government measure. Mr. Crawshaw Williams has unfortunately delayed the execution of his educational project a little too long. The way to have taught us that militancy is unnecessary was to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill in the days when militancy did not prevail. The neglect to do this pointed to the conclusion that peaceful methods do not avail to win this reform.

"Outbursts of Popular Feeling."

Mr. Crawshaw Williams is evidently hard hit by the charge of inconsistency which we bring against those who applaud the militancy of men and denounce that of women, because he says that "the comparison of these outrages (the women's protests) with the outbursts of deep, popular feeling in connection with the Corn Laws and the Reform Bill of 1832, is ridiculous, and could not be made anything but ridiculous by the wildest acts of the small and unrepresentative band who are to-day disgracing their cause." This, he thinks, settles the matter. But we reply that the upholders of the Corn Laws and the Anti-Reformers of 1832 spoke of the revolts of their day in precisely the same offensive and disrespectful fashion as that affected by Mr. Crawshaw Williams in speaking of the Suffragist protests. They would fiercely and contemptuously have ridiculed his use of the term "outbursts of deep, popular feeling." Time shows all things in their due proportion, and the "wildest acts" of the moment become the good deeds and the brave deeds that irradiate human history. The Suffragettes need not despair when they reflect that Hampden himself was told by the judges that for his vindication of constitutional liberty he ought to be whipped!

Sir Edward Carson as Lawbreaker.

Among the Nationalists of Ireland lawful behaviour is not, we understand, altogether the rule. Perhaps we shall shortly hear what punitive measures the Government intend to apply. It is with much interest that we notice the Government are in no way deterred by the lawless conduct of Home Rulers from pressing forward their measure of Home Rule. Under the heading, "Preparing for Home Rule," a leading Unionist newspaper published the statement that in Belfast the members of the Unionist Clubs and Orangemen are drilling in view of the possible passage of a Home Rule Bill. How is it that the Government permit these preparations for Civil War? It may be that in spite of their wish to prevent them they are for the moment stopped short by a wily device of Sir Edward Carson. For we learn that "acting on Sir Edward Carson's advice each man signs a declaration before a magistrate that their objects are recreation and physical training so as to keep themselves within the law." To have so cute a lawyer as Sir Edward Carson as leader of a militant movement seems to present some practical advantages.

"Xere Bombast."

But though his followers may for the moment be within the law, it is impossible for the Government to deny that Sir Edward Carson's incitements to violence and Civil War are illegal. We live in hourly expectation of the issue of a warrant for the arrest of Sir Edward Carson and his friend and ally, Mr. F. E. Smith. It is true that the Government has pleaded that the inflammatory utterances of these two Privy Councillors are "mere bombast," but that is a totally insufficient excuse for their neglect to bring them to book in a Court of Law. It was the "mere bombast" of Lord Randolph Churchill during the Home Rule struggle of the eighties that produced savage rioting and bloodshed in Ulster. How do the Government dare to assume that the "mere bombast" of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith will not have the same result? If other people, including Suffragists, are to be held accountable for the probable effect of their words, so must these two gentlemen. It is a monstrous thing that they should be immune from criminal prosecution, while the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union are put in the dock.

Prejudged.

Referring to the trial of the "Syndicalists" for incitement to mutiny, the *Nation* of this week writes:

Incidentally, the Attorney-General (in the House of Commons) rebuked the Recorder of London for an abusive reference to syndicalism in his charge to the grand jury at the Old Bailey. We confess (the *Nation* continues) that we regard such prosecutions with suspicion, especially when, in a state of great public heat, members of one class are virtually tried by members of another.

We turn to the *Times* of March 20, and we read:

The Recorder, in addressing the Grand Jury at the opening of the March Sessions at the Central Criminal Court yesterday, referred to the case of Ellen Pitfield, who is charged with attempting to set fire to the General Post Office, and said that the charge arose out of the misguided conduct of hysterical women in connection with the Votes for Women agitation, of which they had had very painful experience during the last few weeks. The antics of these women were scarcely consistent with sanity, but at the same time the law must be respected and the property of His Majesty's subjects must be protected.

What kind of rebuke has the Attorney-General administered to the Recorder for this shameful attempt to create prejudices in the case against an untried prisoner? May not we also say that we regard such attempts with suspicion, especially when, in a state of great public heat, members of one sex are actually tried by members of another?

"Contempt" Again.

We have before referred to the shameful Contempt of Court of which the *Times* was guilty in a leading article of March 6. Referring to the leaders of the Union by name on the morning following their arrest, the *Times* wrote:—

A sentence of penal servitude on the instigators of these criminal acts, as distinguished from their dupes, would commend itself, we believe, to the public sense of justice.

No Contempt of Court could be more flagrant than that; yet the *Times* almost equals it, from a legal point of view, when in a leading article of March 22 it writes as follows:—

We reply that no distinction has ever yet been drawn between the militants and the W.S.P.U., which directs their actions and provides their funds.

And again:—

Such, as Mrs. Moberly Bell has pointed out, appears to have been the case with ladies like Mrs. D. A. Thomas, who gave £157, Lady Meyer, who gave £11, and Lady Willoughby de Broke, who gave 10s. 6d., and then signed a letter of sympathy to the tradesmen who had suffered at the hands of women sent out by the very union to whose funds these eminent ladies had contributed.

In both these passages (the italics are ours) it is evident that one of the main points at issue in law is openly assumed as established. This seems to be the sort of lawlessness and defiance of authority that our opponents favour.

Bail.

We further protest most seriously against the magistrate's repeated refusal of bail to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. In cases of this kind, it is unjust to refuse bail unless there is a fear that the accused will fail to put in an appearance at the next day of proceedings. To suppose that Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence would eschew their bail is ridiculous. No prisoner in the movement has ever done such a thing, and no conceivable sum of money could be so strong a surety as the simple word of the leaders of the Union or of Mr. Lawrence himself. Three weeks' confinement in prison inevitably acts upon the mind and body. As Mr. Lawrence protested in Court, such treatment renders the accused less fit for their defence. Nevertheless, against all justice or reason, the application was curtly refused on Tuesday and on Wednesday.

A Warning Disregarded.

There is just now a great outcry from men because they believe that there has been arbitrary and unfair dealing in connection with the Syndicalist prosecutions. Women charged with political offences have been making a similar complaint for the last five or six years, but with little effect. No doubt the men who ought to have insisted upon absolute and scrupulous fairness in connection with all political prosecutions, whatever the sex of those concerned, are now regretting that for their own protection they did not intervene in the interest of the Suffragettes. We warned them that unless they did so, the authorities would behave in similar fashion to men political offenders, but they paid no heed to that warning. Now they are beginning to realise that they have given too much rope to the Government, who will use it to hang them.

Not a Very Small Fraction.

The *Times* will not hear of the Women's Social and Political Union being described as "a very small fraction" of the Suffrage Movement. In proof of the Union's importance it points to the large list of subscribers who in 1910 numbered 5,000, and in 1911 numbered 8,000. "Five, six, or seven thousand," says the *Times*, "is not a very small fraction." Seven thousand is the number of subscribers which it estimates will appear in the report for the present year. The issue of that report will naturally be delayed for a time in consequence of the seizure by the authorities of the officials of the Women's Social and Political Union, but we are in a position fully to confirm the *Times's* anticipation of increased strength, financial and otherwise.

Can Women be Excluded from Police Courts?

We have received an interesting communication from a solicitor, which we deal with more fully elsewhere, pointing out that a magistrate has no real right to exclude women from a police court during the

hearing of any case unless male members of the public are excluded at the same time. He adds that any woman so excluded can bring the matter before the Court of Appeal, which is bound to consider her case at once, because it affects the liberty of the subject. This throws an interesting, though not to us a new, light upon the casual procedure of the police court; and we could wish that our correspondent had also been able to tell us that it is illegal for a magistrate to decide what case it is "decent" for a "respectable" woman to hear. Only the other day Mr. Fordham ordered a lady to leave his court, in spite of her serious protest, because he was about to hear a charge against "women of a certain class." The whole spirit of the militant movement is against this maintenance of false standards and false definitions, and it is time for magistrates to know that women consider it neither decent nor respectable to leave their unfortunate sisters to face men accusers and judges from the dock without the support of a single member of their own sex. Let us have done with sentimental hypocrisy!

"Oh, Where, and Oh, Where?"

We are happy to be able to inform our readers that Miss Christabel Pankhurst continues to urge her wild career. Towards the end of last week she was sighted in America; we think in Massachusetts, but it may have been Brazil. On Sunday it became known that she had taken to the water in the more homely locality of Margate. Special detectives have been sent to the strike districts, and last Monday they crowded the last row of the stalls and the Press box at the Pavilion meeting, looking as unconscious of their special training in detection as ever detectives can. The domestic servants of members of the Union are becoming tired of hearing painfully disguised and heavily-built gentlemen inquiring whether anyone of the name of Pankhurst is staying there. "The answer is in the negative," they wearily reply, for the movement is making us all Ministerial. But for open-hearted simplicity even detectives are beaten by a young man of an illustrated halfpenny newspaper, who wrote confidently to a suffragette:—

You will see by my card that I am a newspaper man who is anxious to know if you happen to know if Miss Christabel Pankhurst is staying at your house, or in this neighbourhood. My Editor wired me stating she is in the county, and I have been through it all, but find no trace of her up to now.

And up to now he has no trace of her either! It is most extraordinary.

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THE "ASCOT" COLLARETTE.

The craze of the moment, in fine quality. Two tone Ostrich Feather and rich shot Taffeta Silks, exactly matching the feather; also in plain black and plain white, and in all the most fashionable combinations of colours.

18/9.

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WIGMORE STREET and WELBECK STREET, W.

A POLICE COURT IMPRESSION.

By Frederick Ryan.

"One day recently I happened to pay a visit to a West End Police Court. It was the day the "raid" had occurred in the early morning, and windows were broken in Oxford Circus, Regent Street, and elsewhere. Two of those who had taken part in it were brought before the magistrate. To spend a morning in a City Police Court is to get a lasting and frightful sense of the injustice, the disorder, the futility of much of our present civilisation. You see a stream of unhappy people pass through the dock, victims most of them, of some congenital malady or defect, or products of the bad environment with which society has surrounded them. You see police constables giving evidence which, whether true or false, is certain to be believed, for there is no one to contradict it. And even if there were anyone to contradict, the chances are that, unless he were very well-to-do and a person of social standing, he would not be believed. I heard the magistrate, for instance, solemnly ask a youth accused of begging, on whose person twopenny-halfpenny had been found, whether he had any witnesses to call! It is all intensely depressing, hopelessly bewildering. One understands the mood in which Mr. Galsworthy wrote "The Pigeon."

After a number of such cases, however, there came the two Suffrage prisoners. They entered the dock, and at once we were in a new atmosphere. The thing most notable was that the prisoners towered, morally and spiritually, over everyone in the Court. They made the poor magistrate look small, they dwarfed the pert little clerk. There was no escaping this impression. Moral stature is as clear and unmistakable as physical stature. Do what he would the magistrate could not work up a pose of moral indignation or superiority towards the prisoners, and after a little time he frankly gave up the attempt. All the futile nonsense in the newspapers or the insulting cartoons like that of *Punch*, in which Suffragettes are drawn as hysterical hooligans, all were shrivelled in a moment. There was nothing hysterical, nothing undignified here. On the contrary, the most striking feature in the whole episode was the great dignity of the prisoners. They indulged in neither bravado nor whining. They neither boasted nor appealed for mercy. They had done what they did out of a belief that it advanced their cause, and they were perfectly prepared to suffer the penalty. All the pleasures of vindictiveness—and despite all the reforms some of those pleasures still taint our prison methods—all those pleasures disappear when the victim accepts the punishment as a privilege and an honour.

Had the women in this instance chosen to plead on mere technicalities they might have found it not very difficult to escape. The thing had occurred very early in the morning, no constable had actually seen them break the windows, the civilian witnesses might easily have been shaken by a skilled cross-examiner. But the prisoners stood on no such defence. They admitted the charge. They didn't want to avoid prison, they were quite prepared to go there. It was a Tolstoyan situation, and had all the force of the Tolstoyan appeal.

Altogether, whatever one might think of the tactics of the recent raid, or its immediate political reactions, one could not come away from such a scene without feeling its immense moral significance. It is here that the real importance of all this militancy lies. It is not the violence that is important, it is the moral facts that the violence reveals. The violence, as a matter of truth, is trifling; the damage to property is comparatively very small. On the other hand the impulse that leads hundreds of women voluntarily to go to prison is a very great and very impressive thing. As usual, the newspapers invert the importance of the facts. They see the smashed windows, but the moral and spiritual realities escape through the broken glass. A couple of thousand pounds' worth of smashed window-panes seems to them a more serious consideration than a couple of hundred disinterested and devoted women in gaol, with a couple of thousand ready to follow them there.

In this article I do not wish to discuss whether the recent militant action was wise or unwise from a political point of view. I merely set out to record the impression made upon me by one police-court trial of Suffrage prisoners. And I left the Court wondering what reports these magistrates carry to the Home Office when they go to receive instructions or concert measures for dealing with these cases. It would be interesting to know how many of them frankly tell the Home Office authorities the facts as they see them. No doubt magistrates are not very enlightened men, or likely to be very wise men in such matters. Their training and their daily occupation probably induce the notion that the sores of society are to be cured by pounding and beating them. Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to punish and pass by. I have often thought that a

police magistrate who began to reflect would be lost. But there are some facts too big to be ignored, too impressive to leave unmoved the most routine-ridden mind. And these Suffrage prisoners are amongst such facts.

THE SENTENCED SUFFRAGISTS.

Up to the moment of going to press, one hundred and fifty-six women have been sentenced in connection with the recent suffragist disturbances. Of these, one hundred and seven were dealt with summarily in the police courts and are now in Holloway Gaol, twenty-two being sentenced to one month, nine to six weeks, seventy-four to two months, one to two months and twenty-one days, and one to three months. Seven more who received shorter sentences, were released last week, among them being Mrs. Tuke, who, having served her convicted term of three weeks, is now out on bail to answer a graver charge. Of those in Holloway, eighty-three have been given hard labour sentences, an extra and uncalled-for penalty that deprives them of the privileges to which they would otherwise be entitled under Rule 243a. We have already called attention to the fact that the Home Secretary has the power to rescind this ruling of the police court, and, by remitting the hard labour, to accord to these women their proper privileges as political offenders. That he has not seen fit to do so is consistent with a policy that allows a woman like Mrs. Pankhurst to be imprisoned for two days in a cell unfit for human habitation, and further puts various difficulties in the way of her enjoying proper facilities for preparing her defence.

Besides the suffragist prisoners now in Holloway, others are still answering to the charges brought against them at Newton Sessions as we go to press; and forty-three who have been sentenced there—thirteen to six months, and thirty to four months—have been removed to Aylesbury Prison. Five were discharged, the evidence against them being insufficient, a plea that apparently has more value in these courts than under the summary jurisdiction of the police courts. Mr. Wallace, when asked by one of the women sentenced whether she would be entitled to the privileges under Rule 243a, is reported to have replied, "That is a matter that the Home Office will see to. I have simply to pass the sentence." We understand that the suffragist prisoners in Aylesbury Prison are not receiving the privileges, and we point out to our readers that in November last similar sentences passed on similar women for similar offences carried with them no such restriction. Is it too much to hope that the Home Secretary will show some Liberalism, if belated, and take a proper view of the treatment of women political offenders in prison?

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Our Readers, especially members of the W.S.P.U., are again reminded that all communications intended for the W.S.P.U. should, in the absence of Mrs. Tuke, be addressed to Miss Kerr, Secretary (pro tem.), W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

The W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, will be closed for the Easter Holidays from Thursday, April 4, at 1.30 p.m., until Wednesday, April 10, at 10 a.m.

Prisoners' Secretary.

All enquiries with regard to prisoners should be sent to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Take This Opportunity.

Those of our readers who heard the magnificent speech made by Mrs. Morgan Dockrell at the Opera House on March 7 will be glad to know that she will speak at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., on Monday next, April 1, at 3.15 p.m. Mr. Baillie Weaver will speak on the esoteric meaning of the Women's Movement. Mrs. Massey and Miss Evelyn Sharp will also speak. This will be the last Monday afternoon meeting before the Easter Holidays. Meetings will be resumed on Monday, April 15. There will be no meeting at the Steinway Hall next Thursday.

SAVING UP FOR THE ALBERT HALL.

For the past week or two the members of the Women's Social and Political Union have been husbanding their resources in order to bring the sum raised at the Albert Hall meeting to a record total. In nursery language, they have been "saving up," a way of putting it which is suggested by one very delightful collecting-card which has come into our hands. It contains three items, in large round handwriting: "My chocolate (Maev), 1s.; My Seventh Birthday Cake (Jean), 5s.; My Eighth Birthday Cake (Patrice), 5s." Some day, Maev and Jean and Patrice will have discovered that it is sometimes possible to give one's cake and to have it, too.

Many others are saving up, too, as we go to press, and next week our readers will learn with what result. Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to see the length of this week's list of subscriptions notwithstanding. A long list of average subscriptions means much more in freedom's cause than the record of a few large sums; and the many letters that continue to pour in show how the number of women bent on winning freedom increases day by day. One correspondent goes somewhat bluntly to the point when she says of the enemies in the Cabinet that "in seeking fame they have lost justice, honour, and truth by the way." Another regrets that she cannot send a larger donation, "especially after the splendid courage shown by our comrades in the cause of freedom and justice." A third reminds us of a fine saying of Martin Luther's, suggested to her by the arrest of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union: "Here stand I, so help me God! I can do no other." In this and a hundred other ways we continue to be reminded that we are "setting back the clock."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

March 18 to March 22.

Already acknowledged £117,019 5 0	Mrs. Emily Ward	0 7 0
Mrs. M. Craig-McKerrow	Mrs. E. G. Nichols	2 0 0
Miss Maud Joachim	Mrs. E. Wiggins	0 5 0
E. A. L.	Mrs. E. Lynch	0 5 0
Miss Edith England	Mrs. N. E. MacMunn	1 0 0
Miss B. George	Miss L. Wallace-Dunlop	5 0 0
"A Minister's Wife"	Miss Eva Moore	1 1 0
"A Very Poor Woman"	Miss J. M. Penson	0 11 0
Mrs. Cairns (papers resold)	Miss Nellie Staff	0 5 0
A. P.	Miss C. M. Meakin	0 10 0
Miss Annie C. Bell	Miss M. Mant	0 10 0
Miss Maude E. Jones	Miss R. Mayo	0 2 0
"A Lady in British Columbia"	Miss J. A. Wilkes	0 3 0
"A Swiss Woman"	Mrs. C. E. Martin	0 3 0
"A German Lady"	Mrs. Patricia Shaw	0 10 0
Miss Sarah Adkins	Mrs. Saxby Thomas	0 10 0
"Nick"	Miss J. D. Murray	0 10 0
A. A. S.	Miss S. E. Wylie	1 1 0
M. E. (diverted sub.)	Mrs. Isabel Strevelling	1 0 0
Miss Ada E. Yeates	Miss A. E. Storey	0 5 0
Miss Taylor	Mrs. McCall	0 2 0
Extra on "V.I.W."	Per Miss Lucy Burns	2 0 0
Miss Marie Lawson	Miss J. C. Campbell	5 0 0
Major W. J. Lister	Miss Lucy Burns	1 0 0
Mrs. West	Mrs. S. M. Waldie	20 0 0
Mrs. M. V. Whitelaw	Miss J. C. McWhin	1 0 0
Miss E. Lynch	Collecting Cards	0 5 0
"Two Friends of the Cause"	Miss Mary Biggs	1 7 0
J. Nahum	Miss S. Carwin	1 1 0
L. A. A. Strachan	Miss Lucy Flint	0 3 0
Vivian Smith	Mrs. E. Kemp	0 5 0
Miss K. E. Webb	Mrs. Elsie Drinkwater	1 8 0
Miss Agnes Murphy	Miss Pauline L. Clough	10 1 0
Derwent M. Miles, Esq.	Mrs. Irene Fookar	0 2 0
Dr. M. R. Levermore	Mrs. M. Ecob	0 3 0
Miss Bessie E. Smith	Mrs. H. Bowen	0 7 0
Per Miss L. Burns	Miss Sylvia Bowen	0 5 0
Mrs. J. C. Johnston	Mrs. Ethel G. Evans	0 10 0
Mrs. Joseph Dobbin	Mrs. Florence Harris	0 5 0
Miss N. E. Archibald	Miss Alice Farmer	2 15 0
Mr. and Mrs. Cash	Mrs. Evelyn Hunt	1 0 0
Miss Daisy Murray	Lady Home	3 5 0
Per Miss H. Jolliffe	Miss C. Carroll	0 12 0
A Friend	Miss E. Adams	0 5 0
Miss Burney	Mrs. Mary Brewer	2 6 0
Mrs. Beatty	B. C.	0 5 0
Miss N. Gornall	Mrs. Kate Henson	1 8 0
Mrs. Guest	Miss G. D. Easterbrook	0 2 0
Miss Joan Wickham	Miss M. C. Buzzard	0 1 0
Surbiton Profit	Miss H. G. Brown	1 3 0
Miss E. B. Worters	Miss V. E. Somerville	0 19 0
Mrs. Vallance	Miss Dorothy Hunter	0 18 0
Mrs. Langworthy	Miss M. H. Alston	0 4 0
Mrs. Oxenford, Esq.	Miss Rose Farmer	0 19 0
"Symphony"	Mrs. J. Atcoe	0 10 0
Per Mrs. Mansel	Mrs. M. Gohlke	1 0 0
Gold sold in shop	C. B. and E. B.	0 5 0
Miss E. von Taube	Miss Julia Dewry	1 0 0
Miss Phillips	Mrs. Barron	0 2 0
Per Miss Fraser Smith	K. P.	0 5 0
Miss Adam Hunter	Miss E. E. Crush	1 1 0
Miss Gardiner	Miss Mary Hedger	0 18 0
Mrs. F. E. McFarlane	Miss Brent Forth	0 7 0
Mrs. Mackay	Mrs. Alice Knight	0 10 0
Mrs. R. T. Leitch	Miss Dorothy Farrar	2 10 0
Self-Denial	Miss F. G. Elmes	0 6 0
G. E. M.	Miss Sara Falcke	3 3 0
Mrs. Ada J. Hale	Miss E. E. Billing	3 6 0
Mrs. M. R. Henderson	Misses F. and S. Adkins	0 11 0
Mrs. M. Coughman	Miss M. Blanche Holley	0 8 0
Mrs. Irene P. Batty	Miss D. King Beer	0 4 0
Mrs. G. E. Ferris	Mrs. E. J. Hutchinson	0 10 0
Mrs. Mary Clark	son and Miss M. L. Darnford and Miss A. Clayton	0 15 0
Mrs. L. Eglington	Miss A. E. Formby	0 3 0
Mrs. Hutchings	Miss M. E. E. Hughes	0 10 0
K. D. Holland	Mrs. Morley Daires	0 3 0
Mrs. Fox Bourne	Miss E. M. Mounstephen	0 5 1 0
Mrs. Beckett	Miss A. G. Mathews	0 7 0
Miss Edith Carrie	Miss A. M. Manson	0 2 0
Anna	Miss Dorothy Mann	0 2 0
H. Paisley	Miss L. R. Shortland	0 3 1 0
Miss L. Connell	Miss Irene S. Taylor	0 2 0
Mrs. M. Cunningham	Miss G. A. Richard	0 10 0
Mrs. Geraldine Gals	Miss L. Starling	0 15 0
Mrs. Weston Wigg	Mrs. Merryweather	0 5 0
Miss Agnes Kelly	Miss M. L. Simpson	3 10 0
Mrs. M. Clark	Miss A. Y. Murray	0 2 0
Mrs. Inglis	Miss Ada Walker	1 5 0
Miss Sally Bergman	Miss N. B. Searancke	0 13 0
A. M. H.	Mrs. N. F. Searancke	0 13 0
Miss Mary Blathwayt	Miss G. Searancke	0 14 0
Mrs. Ida E. Davis	Miss S. K. Saxeby	0 5 0
Miss A. B. Gittins	Miss E. K. Purrell	0 5 0
L.L.A.	Miss N. W. Morrison	0 5 0
Mrs. Dalton	Miss S. L. Napier	0 15 0
Miss M. Dalton	The Misses Shaw	1 10 0
Miss E. H. Aikin	Miss M. M. Sheppard	1 3 0
Miss Edris Kuhn-Stroh	Miss M. H. Spalding	0 4 0
Mrs. Mark Jaffre	Mrs. J. Mackenzie	1 0 0
Miss Patricia Christitch	Miss Nina Marks	0 11 0
Miss M. F. Dunn	Mrs. E. Skeffington	0 5 0
Miss E. H. Hopper	Misses F. and N. Nichols	0 12 0
Mrs. Rosemond Hicks	Mrs. Wilkinson	0 6 0
Mrs. von Kraft	Miss C. M. Maycocks	1 7 0
Miss Jean Hall Jack	Miss Olive Wheatley	0 3 1 0
Miss Margaret Hogg	Miss Eva Mabe	0 3 0
Mrs. Bird	Miss E. M. Stenhouse	2 0 0
Mrs. Jeanne	Miss Rosa Pearce	0 6 0
Mrs. J. F. Durant	Miss L. E. Lyons	0 5 0
Miss Nellie L. Jones	Mrs. Outram	0 8 0
Miss C. Gowans	Mrs. Amy Lyle	0 7 0
Miss Bessie Heyes	Miss Eliza Tusser	0 5 0
Mrs. Margaret Forbes	Miss E. Mayhood	0 3 0
Mrs. I. M. Turner	Miss F. C. Ward	0 10 0
R. R.	Miss Hilda Vasey	1 7 0
The Misses Traves	Miss M. I. Rorison	5 1 3 0
C. H. Morris	Miss M. Marsden	0 12 0
Mrs. Helene Puts	The Misses Scruby	1 8 0
Mrs. and Miss McMorran	Mrs. E. Sumpter	1 0 0
Miss M. G. Swan	Miss E. M. Lancashire	0 16 0
Miss Evelyn Sharp	Miss Fanny Shuter	0 2 0
Mrs. I. More Nisbett	Miss Edith Marsh	0 8 0
Miss S. H. Moyle	Miss Poe	0 11 0
Mrs. W. S. Pearce	Miss E. B. Worters	3 0 0
Mrs. F. S. Nicolle	Miss M. E. Lander	0 14 0
Miss D. Webb	Miss M. J. Smith	1 1 0
Miss C. L. Ward	Miss Minnie Swann	0 6 0
Miss S. Moulden	Miss B. Larcombe	0 6 0
Miss W. Adair Roberts	Miss Grace Williams	1 0 0
Miss Nina Lomax	Miss Louisa Macdonald	0 5 0
Mrs. Lomax	Miss I. Szczepanska	0 15 0
Miss L. Willcocks	Miss J. Gillespie	0 6 0
Miss Kate Parker	Stuart	0 6 0
Miss E. M. Parker	Mrs. Catherine Lane	2 8 0
Miss J. E. Parsons	Mrs. C. Strong	0 8 0
Mrs. Marian Miller	Miss M. L. Strong	0 12 0
Mrs. Watson	William Ball Fund	0 10 0
Mrs. C. Matheson	Mrs. J. A. East	0 10 0
Miss Sybil Murray	Miss Alice Burton	0 1 0
Mrs. and Miss Zde	Henry W. Nevinson	1 1 0
Rumell	Eq.	1 1 0
Miss M. Shaw	Miss Florence White	0 5 0
Miss E. Trehera	Miss Eva Moore	1 1 0
Mrs. V. McDougall	Miss Lynch	0 2 0
Miss N. M. Tanner	Mrs. Pearson	0 10 0
Mrs. A. Stanford	Miss L. A. Strachan	1 0 0
Mrs. Patricia Marrow	Membership Fees	2 15 0
Mrs. and Miss Pearce	Collectors, Tickets, &c.	22 13 3
Mrs. Ethel McCombie	Per Miss L. Burns	3 1 0
	Per Miss Fraser	0 19 0
	Per Miss Smith	0 19 0
	Total	£117,408 13 8

PEN PORTRAITS OF

MRS. PANKHURST.

By the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman,

Chaplain of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy.

To write a monograph on a living person who is either in prison or on a throne is no easy matter, but when the subject, to the mind of the writer, morally occupies the latter place through literal presence in the former, the difficulty is enhanced. The danger which accrues is in the direction either of fear or flattery, both of which should be rigorously avoided. I wish, therefore, to state my simple impressions of the Founder of the W.S.P.U. so far as I am able, after an acquaintance of some two years standing with Mrs. Pankhurst in her public capacity.

I may be pardoned at the outset in observing that I earnestly wish such a character had been better understood by the Church as a whole, for, when I hear on all sides the absence of men from places of worship being deplored, I am filled with grave fears lest the studied silence or contempt of the majority of the clergy regarding this Movement should result in similar complaints on the score of the other sex. Without entering into the field of politics from which I am barred, I would respectfully urge that, unless the Church takes her place in the van of progress instead of resisting the laws of evolution, which are surely nothing less than divine, she will find herself in a parlous condition. Many thinkers, who are none the less pious on that account, hold that if she is not to disappear she will have completely to change her attitude, or to be re-formed almost beyond recognition, though I do not doubt that, after the event, she will be the first to patronise a force with which at present she is altogether out of harmony. Be that as it may, though saddened by the reflection, history prevents me being surprised, and I refer to it merely as an example of the fact that we constantly kill our prophets and afterwards erect their sepulchres.

Mrs. Pankhurst has been for me, from the first time I met her, the prophetic of a new and better time, and has voiced the English expression of that wave of Feminism which is rising throughout the world, and promises to sweep away many of the temptations and abuses incidental to sex relationships. Compared to the glory of this advance, the question of the Vote would appear almost a detail, save as an opportunity for its furtherance, but no one can understand the magical influence of this frail woman until he realises that she incarnates the passionate desire of the best of her sisters to break these bonds and be free. Not their domestic bonds, in the sense in which her enemies would infer, for her deepest yearning may be said to be the salvation and restoration of the home, but those bonds on the moral plane, whether women be the slaves or the enslavers, for the abolition of which I fancy she deems it a trifle to undergo the penalty of a gaol. It is within the strict truth to say that Mrs. Pankhurst is out for purity, and is pitilessly opposed to the accepted theory of the harem and all that goes with it, either as a public institution or a personal inclining. Small marvel, then, if she finds arrayed against her the terrific force of the flesh, none the less deadly for specious terms or refined disguise.

The second strong conviction which she has left with me is her intentness, amounting to an enthusiasm, on the mental development of women. I imagine that Mrs. Pankhurst would regard sin and stupidity as closely allied, her whole atmosphere suggesting that to look on the body as woman's main, and, in many cases, almost sole asset, is a disgrace and a danger to the community, let alone to the individual. Let those who pity her pause to ask themselves how far they have contributed to this gospel which she has so bravely preached up and down the country, namely, that women as well as men should learn to think, that they have brains of their own, and that the day is coming when, as sentient beings, they shall acquire an entirely new dignity and independence. This is why the prisoner at Holloway can afford to smile when she remembers that there are thousands of girls, even in this early stage of the Movement, who can trace to her a growth in self-respect, an enlargement of their horizon, and a great eagerness for knowledge which shall make them not only better citizens, but better wives, better mothers, better friends, and, as I would humbly add, far better Christians. She spells for me a hope such as I never had before that through the example of her sacrifice women shall become helps more meet for man than conventional dolls, being filled with the longing to share his existence in every particular, in place of merely pleasing him, bringing him an unearned fortune, or satisfying his desires. Again, it is not astonishing that Mrs. Pankhurst has evoked a fierce hostility on the part of those who prefer the old régime, though in this instance I am surprised that men and women of all parties who can see the enormous advantage to the State of this virtual revolution, should not, in spite of any disagreements however grave as to methods, or even accusations of lawlessness, bless these pioneers of such a mighty good.

The last, and perhaps most striking effect of Mrs. Pankhurst's personality has been the democratic ideal which she, more than any person I can recall, has brought home to me. She has, as it were, turned a searchlight on her own sex, dispelling every social difference and those falsitudes in which romance delighted, exceeding even the province of poetry, but which were wholly inconsistent with fact. She has made us feel for the first time that every woman is sacred, and therefore equal, that to the State, at all events, the duchess should be on a par with the washerwoman, and that sweet seventeen calls for no greater reverence than old age clothed in rags. She has girded against discrepancies which for women are even more plentiful and fuller of pain than those existing among men. She has made her world understand that the great mass of women are not made to be butterflies or jewelled favourites, but that they have to work, to drudge, to suffer, and often enough to starve, if they are to preserve their honour. She has boldly maintained that apart from necessity itself, women, as men, can never reach their true maturity unless through labour of some kind, whether mental or physical, they can with head erect give a good account of themselves before they pass. This is what Mrs. Pankhurst has done, and as a result it is not to be wondered at if the indolent and worldly affect to hate her, though I am absolutely certain that there is not a single woman among them who does not, in her heart of hearts, feel a profound respect, and even admiration, for her daring in the cause of truth.

Such is my retrospect of the figure which I have barely outlined, and the strangest part of it all is that the source of these impressions is a most womanly woman, a fragile, tender-hearted, patient person, who, whether rightly or wrongly, is at present behind the bars, though she being in prison yet speaketh with a voice which, if I am not mistaken, will long survive as a bugle call to the liberators of their age.

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, née Goulden, was born in Manchester on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, her father being a great Radical politician, and her grandfather having narrowly escaped with his life at the great Franchise Riots at Peterloo in 1819. She was educated in Paris, and there met the daughter of Henri Rochefort and became an ardent Republican. In 1879 she met Dr. Pankhurst, who had been a member of the first Woman Suffrage Society, founded by John Stuart Mill, and was married to him in the same year. A little later she was placed on the Executive Committee of the only existing Woman Suffrage Society, and was also on the Committee for pushing the Married Woman's Property Bill, which was originally drafted by Dr. Pankhurst and herself, and subsequently became law. In 1883 she assisted her husband as Independent Radical candidate for Manchester, and two years later as Radical candidate for Rotherhithe. In 1886 Mrs. Pankhurst came to London, joined the Fabian Society and the Holborn Women's Liberal Association. She remained a Liberal until 1892, when she joined the Independent Labour Party, and returned to Manchester. In the same year she stood as the Independent Labour candidate for the Manchester School Board, and was first of the defeated candidates. The following year she was elected head of the poll for the Poor Law Guardians for Manchester, and served in that capacity for five years. In 1899, on the death of her husband, she was appointed Registrar of births and deaths, and the following year was elected as Trades Council nominee of the School Board, twice served on the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, and is immensely popular in the Union. In 1903, together with her daughter Christabel, she formed the Women's Social and Political Union, was arrested on February 13, 1908, for heading a deputation of thirteen women to the House of Commons and served a term of six weeks' imprisonment in the second division, i.e., as an ordinary criminal. In October of the same year she was charged with inciting to riot, and, together with her daughter, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond, was arrested and tried in the police court, and, after a trial lasting three days, she was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, but was released a few weeks before the expiration of her sentence. Mrs. Pankhurst has taken part in nearly every by-election at which the Women's Social and Political Union have sent representatives. She is a powerful debater and speaker. In 1909 and 1911 she conducted very successful lecturing tours in the United States and Canada; wherever she went she had a splendid reception, and did a great deal towards showing the Americans the truth about the woman's movement in England. On November 18 of 1910 she led a deputation to the Prime Minister, and although she succeeded in reaching the door of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister refused to receive her. On the following Tuesday, November 22, she again marched at the head of about 400 women to see the Prime Minister. She was, however, arrested in Downing Street, and was brought up at Bow Street the following morning, to find that no charge was brought against her, and that she was discharged.

OUR CHRISTABEL.

By Yoshio Markino

(The Well-known Japanese Artist, and Author of "My Idealized John Bull's.")

Where is Christabel? Everybody (friend and enemy both) is asking, and I, too, have that question secretly, though anxiously, in my heart. For Miss Christabel Pankhurst is my very esteemed personal friend. Perhaps she is potentialising her energy at the present moment, but surely she will come out when she feels it necessary.

At the meantime, let me write my impression upon her quite frankly.

"Now, you see!" someone shouted to me, almost losing his own head. "I suppose you have given up Christabel by this time. Are you not repenting your friendship with her now?" What an absurd argument it was! I am not a weathercock as some M.P.'s are! Perhaps I am thinking of her more seriously than ever.

About her motive. It is almost needless to repeat my opinion now. I thoroughly agree with her. When I was writing my last book, "My Idealized John Bull's," eight months ago, I have prophesied what would happen if the reaping of the harvest were neglected. For John Bull's are quite ripe. It was not a surprising thing for me, therefore, to observe the late incident of the Militant Suffragettes. I am grieving rather than to get angry.

Alas! about the policy of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, I have been only looking upon it as a sadly, unavoidable result, the cause of which was far more brutal—I mean that brutal suppression by the Anti-Suffragette Diplomats upon the righteous claim of the Suffragettes. Only the difference is I am always a peace lover. However, if you sow a seed of rice, it will grow rice, and if you sow a seed of wheat, it will grow wheat. Rice seed never produces wheats, and wheat seed never produces rices. Christabel is always Christabel and I am always I. I can never be Christabel and she can never be Yoshio Markino. So very different are our opinions! But as a personal friend, she has shown me enough her generosity and sympathy, beside her wonderful tact and talent, so shall I never forget her! To-day, when she is downcasting her eye to her own works, or thinking something else, she is far away and quite third person. One would wonder what this little John Bull's could do! But when she fixes her focus upon us, she is very, very directly second person. Her lively, bright eyes, and her happy and sweet smiles encourage everyone.

It was just a few days before last Christmas. I felt rather depressed. I met with her at a luncheon party. "What! you feel depressed? Come to see me—see how we are working! You shall soon feel more energetic!" Indeed, whenever I see her, I feel she is a whip for my lazy bones! And when she makes speech before a large public, she makes every one of them as her very second person. I have written my impression on her speech at the Vagabond dinner in my last book (see the Suffragette chapter). At the table I whispered to my John Bull's friend, "If a judge had Christabel's ability, the criminals would make confession quite soon!" And my friend



One of Mr. Markino's Memory Sketches of Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

By kind permission of Messrs. Constable.

noded her head. She is one of the most wonderful John Bull's I have ever met. I am much flattered to be befriended by her. Friendship is always friendship. If my friend does something nice, I feel perfectly happy; if she does something wrong (in my own opinion), I grieve myself; but all the same our friendship is growing more and more every day in the same proportion of our age. And I am heartily wishing our Christabel shall put her foot on the direct road to her real destination—The Equality of Men and Women!

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., is the eldest daughter of Mrs. Pankhurst. Until the age of thirteen she was educated at home. She then went to the Manchester High School, and at sixteen she was sent to a school at Switzerland. Her father died when she was seventeen; she was then obliged to return to England, and assisted her mother by acting

LEADERS & EDITORS.

as deputy registrar of births and deaths. She became a member of the Independent Labour Party, and began work for Woman Suffrage when she was about eighteen by sending resolutions to the Conference and assisting in getting them carried. In 1901 she was made a member of the Executive Committee of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, and was also on the Committee of the Women's Manchester Trade Union Council. In October, 1903, she formed the Women's Social and Political Union together with her mother, and carried woman suffrage resolutions on Trade Councils all over the country. The following year she applied to be admitted as a student at Lincoln's Inn, of which her father was a member. On being refused, she spoke at the Union Society of London (the well-known legal debating society) on the question of the admission of women to the Bar, and carried the Society with her when it came to voting. She continued her law studies at Owen's College, Victoria University, Manchester, and in 1905 obtained a prize for international law. In October of the same year she initiated the present militant tactics of the W.S.P.U. by protesting against the persistent refusal of Sir Edward Grey (whom it was thought exceedingly probable would be in the Liberal Cabinet which was about to be formed) to answer a question on Woman Suffrage, and as a consequence of her protest was sent, together with Miss Annie Kenney, to prison. The following year she obtained her LL.B. degree, obtaining honours, and being placed at the head of the list with one man. Since that date the story of her life has been one with that of the union of which she is the organising secretary. She has since been arrested—once in February, 1907, when she served a term of a fortnight's imprisonment, and once in October, 1908, together with her mother and Mrs. Drummond, when she was arrested for inciting to riot. During the trial which ensued she called as witnesses two Cabinet Ministers, the Home Secretary (then Mr. Herbert Gladstone) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and her masterly examination of these won the admiration of foes and friends alike. She was sentenced to ten weeks' imprisonment. She is a most brilliant and popular speaker.

MRS. TUKE.

By Miss Beatrice Harraden.

The other day, at Bow Street Police Court, when I saw Mrs. Tuke in the dock, my thoughts wandered back to the evening, six years ago now, when I first made her acquaintance, together with that of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, and others. I had been invited by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence to come and dine with them, and hear details direct from them about the meaning of, and motives for, the new agitation on behalf of the enfranchisement of women. I remember how reluctantly I left my study fireside that night, for it was a bitterly cold evening; but something impelled me to go, and when I got there, I knew what that something was: it was the response to an imperious summoning, never to be disregarded, never to be silenced until the cause is won and the long-delayed work of equal justice for women and men brought to a successful ending.

Mrs. Tuke, I remember well, seemed to me as some frail and lovely flower, born for fostering conditions and favouring circumstance; and when she sat down to the piano and touched the keys in that tender and intimate way only possible to one dowered with the true musician's heart and spirit, I knew her to have the artist's nature and temperament, and to belong by birthright to that world of dreams and imaginings, where the strife of politics is heard only dimly or else unheeded. Yet there she was, one of that gallant band of reformers bent on tasks and deeds of daring and determination, and it was to me of great psychological interest to count her amongst them. She foreshadowed by her presence, that night, the coming into the Women's Social and Political Union, one by one, of that large and fair company of finely wrought women of the artist's fibre, who, as time has gone on, have been able to put their natural inclinations for peace and serenity on one side, in response to the storm call which she did not hesitate to answer at once. To me, therefore, she has always stood, and will always stand out in this movement, as their particular representative, sharing their characteristics of quiet, though insistent courage, and their special form of whole-hearted sacrifice. And as I think of her, and use the word sacrifice, King Lear's words come to my remembrance:—

"Upon such sacrifices, my Cordelia,
The gods themselves throw incense."

It is impossible to over-estimate Mrs. Tuke's contribution of service to the growth and development of the Women's Social and Political Union, equally in the early and difficult days of its career and in all the subsequent years of intermingled stress and strain and comparative serenity. In the early days, as many of us well remember, the meetings were of exceedingly small proportion, and women came, not in their scores and hundreds, but one by one, shyly, tentatively, some in doubt, some in scorn, some in curiosity, some in hope, to enquire for themselves into the nature of this new and surprising force which had suddenly made itself felt in the Suffrage world—yes, and in the outside world at last. Mrs. Tuke's personal charm, unconscious tact, kind ways, and gentle bearing reassured and delighted the newcomers, who were thus, from the outset, placed in sympathy with their surroundings, and all the more

willingly remained to hear and heed the splendid rallying call of the militant leaders. Forth they went, then, to bear the message to others, and yet to others: until the small room changed by magic into a large room, and then into a hall, and then into a still larger hall, and so on until it became the Albert Hall itself.

Thus the weeks have worn into months, and the months into years. Mrs. Tuke, always and ever of fragile health, but unfailing devotion, has worked for the welfare of the Women's Social and Political Union unceasingly by pen and personality, and spread her charm over hundreds of its members, even as in the old days she spread it over the few.

As a girl in her father's house and after her marriage, Mrs. Tuke led the life of millions of other women—a life which, from her present point of view, is a selfish one. Her passion was music, and with her husband she used to paint for several hours a day. Although she had always followed the women's movement with great interest, it was not until she met Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on her return voyage from South Africa and again in London that her interest became something more than an academic one. Since that time all her thought and energies have been given to the burning question of the day—the enfranchisement of women.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

By Mrs. J. E. M. Brailsford.

Wise people are careful to remind us that in the span of the world's life some revolts have failed. Revolts that have failed have commonly been led either by individuals who had hardly come into contact with life, but who emerged vaguely and vainly from nowhere to lead a movement tending no-whither, or otherwise by those who came, already forlorn, from futile experiences, already worn, tired, and sick of life. The strength of the movement which is expressed by the activities of the Women's Social and Political Union lies in this—that it has been initiated, fostered, vitalised, and led by women of rich experience, who have had at all times a hold on affairs that was practical and living.

In my mind as I write I have the personality, the face, and the force of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has to me an existence apart from the Suffrage movement. I knew her in days before "militancy" had been thought of; knew her as a woman of intense vitality, poetic magnetism, and ungrudging power of work. She seemed to me then, as she does now, the very figure of enthusiastic energy. She was the founder of the *Esperance* Club for working girls, the organiser of a co-operative dressmaking company; she started a girls' holiday hostel, and, not least of all, added to the gaiety of nations by her work in reviving old English folk-dances and songs. From such activities she has not turned aside; but in common with every sincere and keen worker amongst women, she has found that "the longest way round is the shortest way home," and that to carry through reforms in the interests of women and girls the one essential (if only to save time) is that women should have political power. And to gain this end she has devoted the power and resource of that wonderful eloquence of hers which can rouse the stoniest audience into enthusiasm, and draw from every suffragist the utmost tribute of work and unstinted sacrifice.

Mrs. Lawrence is a practical idealist. She knows that in this world of one-sided politics the enemies of women are the materialists of the age, and her strength lies in her power of combining the material with the spiritual. As writer and speaker she shows a fine generosity in passing over the more sordid side of life; as honorary treasurer of the W.S.P.U. she is an idealised financial genius. There is no financial conception too wide or too fine for her brain; there is no detail too trivial to command her attention. She is at one and the same time the alert man of business and the woman of the kindly heart. Her sympathy knows not any limit; her love of beauty, of flowers, of all gracious things, is part of the background from which her fighting strength comes, just as a sense of religion, rare in this country, enables her to be at once sensitively conscious of the pain and misery of many lives, and yet to maintain that infectious optimism and tolerance which are so inspiring and illuminating to those who are privileged to come within reach of her personality. In brief, she is the sort of woman a Liberal Government thinks well to send to prison.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is the treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union and joint-editor with her husband of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. She has devoted her life to social work amongst women and girls, and it was her practical experience of industrial problems in their relations to women and girls which induced her to take a prominent part in the Suffrage Movement. She is one of the founders of the *Esperance* Working Girls' Club, now known all over England in connection with the revival of Morris dances and songs. For several years she organised a co-operative dressmaking workroom with an eight hours' day and a minimum wage of 15s. a week for those employed. She is one of the founders of the Working Girls' Holiday Hostel at Littlehampton, and has built

the Sundial Cottage at Holmwood as a holiday home for poor children. As treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union, she has raised during the past six years a fund of over £115,000. Mrs. Lawrence was one of the first London members of the W.S.P.U. to go to prison, in 1906, and has since served two terms of imprisonment.

MR. F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

By Miss Mary Neal.

The first occasion upon which I met Mr. Lawrence remains a vivid picture in my memory, and in view of subsequent events that occasion becomes historic and symbolic.

I was waiting in the Common Room of the Mansfield House Settlement when Mr. Lawrence came in, and, without any introduction, we began to talk about economics and about the question of women's wages. I suppose he knew who I was and that that was one of my special interests, for I remember he told me about his recently completed book on "Local Variations in Wages." Before long we were interrupted by news that there was some hitch in the arrangements for giving tea to a party of working girls whom Miss Pethick (Mrs. Pethick Lawrence) and I had brought to give an entertainment at the Settlement, and at once Mr. Lawrence dropped academic talk and was here, there, and everywhere, commandeering bread and butter and cake, and sending messengers for extra supplies, so that before long a happy and well-fed band of girls was dancing and singing for the amusement of the working folks attached to the Settlement. It so happened that Mr. Lawrence and Miss Pethick were on the stage, one drawing aside the curtain on one side, and one on the other. This was the first time they met, and this drawing aside of a curtain on a joyful group of girls was the first work they did together.

A little more than a year after, Miss Pethick and Mr. Lawrence were married at Canning Town in the presence of a wide circle of friends, and I think everyone present felt that the vows then made were not only pledges of personal devotion and loyalty but symbols of a pledge which for ever should bind them to each other and to the needs of humanity in whatever form that pledge should afterwards call for redemption.

That those vows have been royally fulfilled no one who knows of the joint work done by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence or the Votes for Women cause alone can doubt; those with whom they are more intimate know that the capacity to see clearly, the strength to act strongly and consistently, has been won by a complete and selfless devotion to each call, as it came, to a harder and more strenuous task.

He has travelled much, and after leaving Cambridge went round the world. He was also a resident at the Mansfield House University Settlement, and for some time the Treasurer. In 1901 he obtained a controlling interest in the *Echo* newspaper, and edited it from 1902 to 1906. When it ceased he paid the staff and the creditors in full out of his own pocket.

To the children who year by year are the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence at the lovely cottage built especially for them at Holmwood, he is a veritable fairy godfather, and his appearance at the gate and the chance this offers of a walk and a game in the woods brings shouts of joy. The dancing feet of tiny mites are soon accompanying him on a Saturday afternoon expedition, perhaps to a magic well in the wood, one wash in which is firmly believed by the children to make you beautiful for ever.

And at Littlehampton, where there is a holiday hotel for working girls, for which we are largely indebted to Mr. Lawrence's generosity, he is to be seen every summer, on at least one day, making the most wonderful maze on the sands and offering a prize to the girl who is first able to discover the way out. Every reader of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is confident that Mr. Pethick Lawrence will be equally successful in finding a way out of the legal maze in which the Government is now trying to entangle him.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence was educated at Eton, where he won the Tomline (chief mathematical) prize two years before leaving. He went from Eton to Trinity College, Cambridge, was Fourth Wrangler in 1894, took a first class in the Natural Science Tripos, 1896; was second Smith's Prizeman in 1896 (for his essay on Factorisation of Numbers, on which subject he also contributed several papers to mathematical journals); President of the Union in 1896; Adam Smith's Prizeman for Economics in 1897, and Fellow of Trinity in 1897. He played for Cambridge in the Varsity Billiard Match. It is interesting to know that Mr. Lawrence's immediate predecessors as President of the Union were "P. W. W." of the "Daily News," and Mr. C. F. G. Masterman. His Adam Smith's Prize Essay, "Local Variations in Wages," was afterwards published, and is the book alluded to above.

THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE.

Further Hearing at Bow Street.—Witnesses for the Prosecution.—Mrs. Tuke Released on Bail.

The case against the leaders of the W.S.P.U. and Mr. Pethick Lawrence was resumed before Mr. Curtis Bennett at Bow Street Police Court on Thursday, March 21. Mr. H. P. Bodkin and Mr. Leycester appeared for the Crown. Mr. R. D. Muir and Mr. Blanco White appeared for Mrs. Tuke.

The Evidence of Police.

Constable Frederick Price, 756A, gave evidence that on March 1 he was in Downing Street about half-past five, when a private motor-car drove up to No. 10, and Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Tuke alighted. All of them threw stones at the windows, and four panes were broken. He took Mrs. Pankhurst to Cannon Row Police Station, where she gave him three large flint stones. He gave evidence against her on March 2, and admitted the correctness of the report in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and remembered her saying, "I have only the fear that perhaps our self-restraint has prevented us from doing as much as is necessary, but I want to make it perfectly clear that although we do not desire to go one step further than is necessary, we are prepared to take all the steps that are necessary and to face the consequences."

Constable Donald Taylor, No. 53A, gave similar evidence as to what happened in Downing Street. He arrested Mrs. Tuke, who said, "I am glad we have made our protest." At her trial he produced four stones, which were picked up outside No. 10 by the porter. They were large flint stones, and similar to those handed by Mrs. Pankhurst to the previous witness.

Constable Arthur Merton, 51A, corroborated the evidence of the others as to the proceedings in Downing Street. He arrested Mrs. Marshall, and on the way to the station she dropped one stone and threw another, breaking a window of the Colonial Office. He produced these stones at her trial; they were medium-sized pebble stones.

Detective Sergeant Henry Leneham gave evidence that at a quarter past six on March 4 he saw two women whom he now knew to be Evelyn Scott and Mary Fraser come out of the Gardenia Restaurant in Catherine Street. He and Constable Bell followed them to Charing Cross (S.E. first-class waiting room), where they met two other women, with whom they conversed for about ten minutes. He saw them hand something which appeared to be railway tickets to these two women, and they compared some notes or letters. They then separated. Miss Scott and Miss Fraser proceeded to Hamley's in Regent Street, where they made a purchase. They then walked across Oxford Street, Cavendish Square and other streets, then engaged a taxi-cab and alighted at Poland Street. They then walked up and down again through several more streets, and stopped outside Messrs. Peter Robinson. From there they went to Great Marlborough Street Police Station, where Miss Fraser handed a club to Miss Scott. Miss Fraser broke a window at the police court and Miss Scott one at the police station. P.C. Bell arrested them, and later they were bailed out. They gave the address of 4, Clement's Inn, and asked the officer on duty to telephone to Mr. Pethick Lawrence for bail. The other two women, whom they had met at Charing Cross, arrived at the police station about a quarter of an hour later to make enquiries about the bail of the two prisoners.

Constable Alexander Bell, 208A, gave corroborative evidence, and stated that Miss Scott and Miss Fraser were ordered to pay 17s. 6d. damages when charged at Bow Street on March 9.

The Selling of Clubs.

Miss Lucy C. Byrne stated that she was employed by Messrs. Hamley of 200, Regent Street, and that on March 4, about seven o'clock, two ladies bought a pair of clubs, similar to those produced in court. Shortly after they had gone the manager came down to know what they had purchased.

Detective-Sergeant Edward Buckley stated that on March 4, at half-past five, he was outside the Gardenia Restaurant, and between that time and half-past six saw a number of women enter in twos and threes, and go up to the second floor. Afterwards they left in small parties, and he followed two, whom he now knew to have been Miss Alice Wilson and Miss Morrie Hughes. They met two other women in the Strand, and entered a tea shop. Then they went down Whitehall, where the two pairs were separated. He saw Miss Hughes and Miss Wilson about twenty minutes past eight outside the Board of Agriculture offices. Miss Wilson threw a stone and broke a ground floor window, was arrested, and charged at Cannon Row. About ten o'clock he saw Miss Hughes throw a stone at the window of the Local Government Board office. She was also arrested.

Constable James Walters, 64B, gave evidence that he saw Miss Wilson throw a stone, which he produced, through the window of 43, Parliament Street. He took her into custody, and on the way she dropped another stone wrapped in brown paper, and in the station handed him a third one.

Detective-Sergeant Bowden stated that he was outside the Gardenia on the evening of March 4, and followed three women along the Strand. They went into Charing Cross Tube Station, then to the District Station, then to Sloane Square, and into the gallery of the Court Theatre. A few minutes after the performance began they came out and walked along Kings Road to number nine, which is a Post Office, and smashed the windows with three hammers. Three large plate glass windows were broken. Miss Taylor had her hammer in her hand when arrested by him. He also arrested Miss Nelly Crocker, and another constable arrested Miss Roberts. He found a hammer and three stones on Miss Taylor, and a hammer on each of the other two. The stones, which he produced, he thought looked like macadam. He noticed that two men followed these women, one of them being Mr. Mark Wilkes, a member of the Men's Political Union. The men also entered the theatre, but did not sit with the women. At Gerald Road Police Station the men followed the prisoners—they had kept within sight of the women whilst the windows were being broken. He was informed that Mr. Wilkes tried to bail the women out—they were bailed out that evening, and appeared next morning at Westminster Police Court, and were committed for trial.

Detective-Constable Thomas Worth stated that on March 4 he followed Miss Wolff van Sandau and Miss Katie Mills from the Gardenia Restaurant to an oil shop in York Street, and then down the Strand to Victoria Street, and finally to Howick Place Post Office, where one broke a window with a hammer (produced), and the other broke a window with stones. They were arrested, and both gave the address of 4, Clement's Inn.

Police Constable Frank Glanville, 261A, gave corroborative evidence of the window breaking by Miss Wolff van Sandau and Miss Mills. He found the hammer afterwards inside the window.

Constable Harry Wells, 611A, spoke as to the breaking of the windows. He saw Miss van Sandau lift her arm from under her cloak.

Mr. Alfred H. Coles, an assistant at Messrs. Littlewood Bros., York Street, Covent Garden, stated that on the evening of March 4 two women came in and bought a ball of string and a hammer. He identified the hammer, and he noticed that one lady had her arm in a sling. He sold two other hammers the same evening to different pairs of women.

Detective-Constable Laurence Seal stated that on March 4 he followed two women from the Gardenia Restaurant into Parliament Square, and saw one of them, Elizabeth Thompson, take a stone from her pocket and throw it at a window of the Home Office. She was arrested. Constable Thomas Wheeler, 25P, identified the stone thrown by Miss Thompson.

Twenty-four Hammers.

Mr. Richard Melhuish, tool merchant, of 50, Fetter Lane, stated that on February 22 or 23 a well-dressed lady, of great dignity, entered his shop and ordered two dozen hammers with claws. She came in later, and took the hammers away with her, but by mistake one was left out. Each hammer was stamped with his name. He described her as a well set up lady, not very stout, and evidently intellectual; he had a little chat with her; he thought he would know her again.

Mr. Godfrey Hastings, Manager of the Gardenia Restaurant, gave evidence that they had on several occasions let to the Social and Political Union a room on the second floor. The room was engaged on February 29, March 1 and March 4, for the afternoon and evening. The charge was 45s. on each occasion. He could not remember people coming in to use the room on February 29 or March 1. The letters engaging the rooms were produced. On March 4 a number of ladies came up to that room, but towards nine or ten o'clock it was again unoccupied. On March 5 a lady on his staff showed him some stones which he recognised; one had "Votes for Women" written on it and the other was a fire ball.

Miss Jessie McPherson, employed as still-room maid at the Gardenia Restaurant, stated that on March 5 she found in the big room on the second floor the two stones produced. They were in the grate together with about a dozen more. One of them had "Votes for Women" written on it and some initials.

Police Constable Robert Gilbert, 408X, stated that on March 4 about eight o'clock he saw Mrs. Mary Richmond and Mrs. Myra Sadd-Brown break two windows of the War Office with a stone. He arrested Miss Richmond but denied pinching her arm. He identified the stone found on her when searched. Constable Ernest Milman gave similar evidence and pro-

duced two stones found upon Mrs. Sadd-Brown: one was a portion of a brick.

The Value of Property.

Mr. Alfred T. Pace, Foreman of the Office of Works, stated that on March 5 he inspected a number of broken windows. Five or six at the War Office (3s. each), one at the Board of Agriculture (2s. 6d.), four at 10, Downing Street (total value 9s.), one at the Colonial Office (value £2).

Mr. Arthur P. Hodges, assistant-architect, Office of Works, stated that on March 5 he examined three windows of the Sloane Street Post Office (damage to the extent of £11 10s.), and one at the Howick Place Post Office (damage 3s. 10d.).

Mr. Noah Baker, Staff Clerk of the Works, Metropolitan Police, gave evidence that the damage to the windows of Marlborough Street Police Court was £1 1s.

Inspector Charles Croker deposed that in November last and in March he took charge of the women arrested and attended to the bailing out. On November 21 and 22 messages and telegrams were sent as usual on behalf of the prisoners. A large number of them, quite fifty he believed, gave the address of 4, Clements Inn. He knew Mr. Pethick Lawrence by sight; in November last he stood bail for 175 prisoners. He also promised that none of the women for whom he was surety should again offend until they appeared at Court in the morning. Mr. Lawrence, when he bailed out these women, brought a long list of printed names, looking like a printer's proof sheet.

Mrs. Pankhurst Indignant.

At this juncture Mrs. Pankhurst stood up and said: "It is very hard on us who had a very insufficient breakfast at half-past six in the morning, for the Court to sit so late."

The Magistrate: If you wish to adjourn we will adjourn now.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Mrs. Tuke is ill, and I also feel very ill. It is physical torture to sit on this hard seat, and we want food.

The Magistrate: I am sorry; we will adjourn now if you wish, but we shall have to break up till three o'clock.

Mr. Muir: I do not know whether you would allow the defendants to have their lunch together; otherwise they will be separated. It does not seem to me that much harm will result from their having lunch together.

The Magistrate: The attendant will be there.

Mr. Muir: Of course, I have spoken to the gaoler about it, and the gaoler will take notice of what you say.

The Magistrate: Very well.

Bail Applied For.

Mr. Muir: Would you allow me at this moment to make an application for bail on behalf of Mrs. Tuke, whose sentence of twenty-one days I understand expires tomorrow? Her state of health is such that she has been in the infirmary nearly all the time she has been in prison, and she is here to-day not only with a wardress, but with a nurse from the infirmary. Under those circumstances, Sir, I feel quite sure that if you can, you will allow her to have bail as soon as she can be released from her sentence.

The Magistrate: I will allow bail in two sureties of £500 each.

Mr. Muir: I have them here.

Dr. Gavin Brown Clark and Mrs. Sybil Margaret Thomas were then taken as sureties.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence then applied for bail for himself and his wife, pointing out that they had been a fortnight in custody. The Magistrate refused.

Mrs. Pankhurst: And for me, sir, because I wish to tell you that I have not the facilities.

The Magistrate: No, one of the Judges has upheld my decision.

Mrs. Pankhurst: My position is that I have not had the facilities of a remanded prisoner.

The Magistrate: Next, please.

Police Evidence Resumed.

After the luncheon interval, Inspector Charles Croker, recalled, stated that as each prisoner came forward Mr. Lawrence examined the list to trace the name, ticked it off, and signed the book. If he failed to find the name he waited until other women prisoners recognised the particular person as a member of the W.S.P.U., and then without further comment he signed the book. On November 22, after midnight, Mr. Lawrence spent two hours signing the book. On March 1 ten women were charged at Cannon Row, but Mr. Lawrence did not become bail; on March 4 fifty were charged, some of whom gave the Clement's Inn address. In the evening Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence came and tendered themselves as bail. They had no list on that occasion, but Mr. Lawrence gave an undertaking that the women for whom he stood bail should not offend again during the time they were on bail. He became bail for twenty-three women, and Mrs. Lawrence for twenty-four. He could not say how soon after their arrest Mr. Lawrence appeared at the police station in November last, or on

March 4. Mr. Lawrence bailed out Morrie Hughes and Agnes Wilson and Mary Richmond and Myra Sadd-Brown; Mrs. Lawrence bailed out Elizabeth Thompson.

Cross-Examined by Mr. Pethick Lawrence

With regard to November 21, you say you do not know how long after the women were arrested I came to Cannon Row to bail them out?—No.

I put it to you that some of the arrests took place about half-past eight in the evening on November 21?—Very likely.

You think that is very likely, but I put it to you that that is approximately so?—Yes.

I put it to you that it was probably about 11 o'clock before I was at Cannon Row?—Quite that, I should say, before I saw you; that is, when you came to the bail room.

I put it to you, further, that either the police themselves, or some of the women who were arrested, had telephoned specially to me in the interval?—I am not prepared to say that.

You are not prepared to say it is not so, at any rate?—No. So many messages were sent out that I could not recollect who they were sent to, or where they were sent to. They were sent all over the country, I believe.

Then with regard to the statement that you made that I had given an undertaking on my own responsibility that the women would do nothing of the same nature until they came up to the court the following morning, is it not a fact that what I did was to ask the women who were there whether they would not give that undertaking?—Yes, you asked the women, and the same thing applies to yourself. You were asked by the Superintendent to give that undertaking.

The Clerk: Do you say he asked that question of the women?—He asked that question of the women.

And the Superintendent asked him?—Yes.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I gave it on behalf of the women I had just asked: that is what you mean?—With regard to yourself, you promised they should not offend again. You first appealed to them, and then answered for your own self as well.

I put it to you that I could not answer for myself except by hearing what they had to say?—Well, I do not know what governed your opinion in the matter.

Re-examined by Mr. Bodkin, the witness stated that there was frequent delay in the matter of bailing out, especially when a large number were brought in. In answer to a question by Mr. Lawrence, the witness stated that he had said in reference to November that it was not improbable that some of the prisoners sent for Mr. Lawrence, but he did not know.

Constable George Baldwin stated that on November 21 he took the names and addresses of the prisoners who were brought in between half-past seven and eleven. About an hour or an hour and a half after the arrests commenced Mr. Pethick Lawrence, with his solicitor, Mr. Marshall, came to the court with a little memorandum book containing the typed or printed list of the prisoners' names.

"Votes for Women" Newspaper.

Mr. George E. Hart, manager of St. Clements Press, Portugal Street, stated that his firm printed *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. The contract for that, dated May 11, 1908, was signed by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. His firm had printed the paper up to the number dated March 8. They also printed leaflets, circulars, &c. Proofs of any matter were sent to 4, Clements Inn, and would come back sub-edited. The paper or leaflets were delivered generally to the offices, and the manuscript returned to Clements Inn. His firm was paid monthly by cheque signed by Mr. Lawrence. On March 4 his reader called his attention to a leaflet, and he wrote the following letter to Mr. Lawrence:—

Dear Mr. Pethick Lawrence.—I have just seen the proof of the handbill which is being set up for the Women's Social and Political Union. It seems to me that this is an incitement to extreme measures, which we cannot agree to either print or publish at such a time as the present. It is also necessary for me to point out that it will be impossible for us to print any similar matter which may be considered of a seditious or libellous character in the newspaper, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.—Yours faithfully, G. E. HART, Manager.

He identified a leaflet as the one he refused to print. He had no reply to his letter. Mrs. Pankhurst asked for a copy, and the court copy was handed to her.

Mrs. Pankhurst Refused.

The Magistrate: You must not keep that copy, Mrs. Pankhurst; that is the court copy.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Can I be supplied with one?

The Magistrate: Mr. Lawrence will have one.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I am not with Mr. Lawrence.

The Magistrate: If he has one you can look at it.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I should like to see a copy.

Mr. Leycester: Will you look at this? It was apparently printed by your firm. (Document handed to witness.) If you compare the two in many respects it is similar to the one which you refused to print.

Can you tell me when the one you hold in your left hand was printed?—No, I cannot say that. My attention was called to a similar bill to this on the morning of March 4.

Mr. Leycester: Do I understand that you had already printed some copies of the thing which you refused to print on March 4?—I think there were some proofs sent out.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Are you speaking now of a second hand-bill?—Yes. The second one is the same.

Mr. Bodkin: It is printed by the St. Clements Press, but the earlier part of it is identical with the first exhibit. The latter part is different.

Mrs. Pankhurst: May I have a copy of the second one?

Mr. Bodkin: I can assure you I have been looking for it for you all this time, but I have not found it yet.

Mr. Leycester: That is a copy of the second one. (Handed to Mrs. Pankhurst.) We have only one copy of the first one and that has been put in. (To the witness.) On the 6th did you receive the manuscript of another circular, entitled "Broken Windows"?—Yes, not the manuscript, it was a reprint.

Witness proceeded to state that his firm had printed 20,000 of a similar leaflet, but differently arranged, in December.

A copy was handed to Mrs. Pankhurst; Mr. Hart stated that in December his attention had not been called to the leaflet, but in March, when his attention was called to it, he refused to print it. In the issue of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* for December 1 was a leading article by Miss Pankhurst, entitled "Broken Windows," which was, he believed, the same as the leaflet. He stated also that he refused to print certain passages in the issue of March 8 and they appeared blank.

A Green Leaflet.

His firm had printed 50,000 copies of the green leaflet which ran as follows:—

"*Votes for Women.* Men and women, we invite you to come to Parliament Square on Monday, March 4, 1912, at eight o'clock, to take part in a great protest meeting against the Government's refusal to include women in the Reform Bill. Speeches will be delivered by well-known Suffragettes who want to enlist your sympathy and help in the great battle they are fighting for human liberty.

(Signed) E. PANKHURST."

Cross-Examined by Mr. Pethick Lawrence

You said with regard to the hand-bill—I think it is the one that is called "Broken Windows"—that you on March 5 decided not to print that, and that you telephoned about it. The point I wish to put to you is this: You did not communicate by telephone with me at all, did you?—No.

With regard to these proofs, which are, I think, Exhibit No. 29, the articles which did not appear in the paper, was there anything to show that those proofs had been passed by me personally?—Not at all.

Cross-Examined by Mrs. Pankhurst.

Did you telephone to me about that article?—No, I do not think so.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence: Or to me?—No, I do not think so.

Re-Examined by Mr. Bodkin.

On the front page of the paper which you printed does there appear "Edited by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence"?—Yes.

Several constables gave evidence of speeches at meetings. They added that the reports in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* were accurate.

Many More Witnesses.

The Magistrate then adjourned the proceedings till the next day. In answer to a question by Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Bodkin stated that he had many more witnesses as to the amount of damage on November 21, March 1, and March 4, each case involving a constable and two gentlemen to speak as to the value. Then there would be a long list of papers to go through, which were taken from the office on March 5. He hoped to finish next week.

The prisoners were remanded till the following day, Mrs. Tuke being allowed bail, herself in £1,000 and two sureties of £500. The Magistrate was understood to refuse to allow Mrs. Pethick Lawrence a private interview with her husband.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Do I understand you to say, sir, that my wife and I are not to be allowed to be together now?

The Magistrate: I did not say you were not to see your wife. You can see your wife. I understood her to ask whether she could have bail.

"Not a Fair Trial."

Mr. Marshall: Mrs. Pankhurst asks me to say that she did not ask for bail. She said she had not got her proper facilities yet.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I did not apply to you for bail. I wanted to tell you that I have not yet been given by the Home Office the facilities that I mentioned on a previous occasion, although it is a week last Saturday since I petitioned for them.

The Magistrate: Facilities for what?

Mrs. Pankhurst: I asked for the facilities of a prisoner on remand.

The Magistrate: You are not a remand prisoner. The question arises in this way, that you are in prison for two months, and you are remanded as well, and the privileges of a remand prisoner do not apply to a prisoner in prison.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I am willing to serve that sentence later.

The Magistrate: There is no Act of Parliament which provides for that, I am afraid.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Then I am not having a fair trial.

After police evidence with regard to W.S.P.U. meetings, Sergeant Lionel Kirohner, C.I.D., stated that on March 4 he and another constable watched No. 4 Clements Inn, and saw about fifty women coming and going, singly or in small batches, some on foot and some in taxis with luggage. The luggage was taken into No. 4, and after a short time was sent off in taxis, sometimes by itself and sometimes with the ladies. About fifteen women arrived with luggage. He saw Miss Christabel Pankhurst leave the offices in the suffrage motor car about three o'clock with Mrs. Lawrence and Dr. Ethel Smyth. They came back about half-past five and left again about a quarter to six.

After further police evidence, the case was then adjourned till March 26, the magistrate refusing to consider the question of bail. He gave permission for Mrs. Pankhurst to have tea with the other defendants and to see two ladies who had sent in their cards.

Mr. Leycester remarked that they were in difficulties owing to many of their witnesses being at the Sessions. They would get along as well as they could, but the order might have to be an illogical one.

After further police evidence, Mr. Harry P. Towers, business manager of the Savoy Theatre, gave evidence with regard to meetings held there.

When Inspector Francis Powell was recalled as to a mistake in two names, he said he had ascertained the names subsequently. Mr. Lawrence objected to this as evidence, and the magistrate upheld his objection. Witness proceeded to describe the arrest of the two women. He then stated that at a meeting of the W.S.P.U. in the Albert Hall, on November 16, a collection was made, which included a gift of £1,000 from Mr. Lawrence. He did not see Mrs. Tuke on the platform on that occasion.

The court here adjourned for luncheon, the defendants being allowed to lunch together, and Mrs. Pankhurst being permitted to see her brother.

For the sake of her child.

Mrs. Lilian Ball, a working dress-maker, of 12, Holderness Road, Tooting, stated that she was a member of the Balham Branch of the W.S.P.U. In the autumn of 1910 she took part in a deputation to the Prime Minister, starting from Clement's Inn, according to a type-written invitation. They were to go straight to the House of Commons. There was some disorder, and as her foot was hurt she was taken in a taxi to Carlton Hall. Early in 1911 she received a type-written letter from Clement's Inn as to a protest. She believed it bore the heading of the Union, and told her to go to a house in Charing Cross Road for her instructions. About seven o'clock she went to the house, to a large room where other ladies were, bearing a card which had been sent her. The card was taken from her by a lady. From the large room they were called into a smaller room, in groups of twos and threes. In the smaller room were four young ladies giving them their instructions. (Mr. Orr objected that this was not evidence, but Mr. Bodkin said he would show that the shop was the Woman's Press, and members of the Union were there.) She did not wear a badge, as she had been asked not to. In the room she was asked if she had a pocket in her skirt. A young lady handed her a bag of stones to break windows with. She was told to try to get to the back of the House of Commons, and she got there about eight o'clock with three others, also carrying stones. She did nothing, as her courage failed her. She went home and put the stones in her sitting room, leaving them there until she went to Holloway this month. She had another circular from the Union, dated February 17, 1912, and replied that she would join a great militant protest. She received another letter telling her to interview Miss Wallace Dunlop at Miss Brewster's flat at Clement's Inn. She could not go at the time indicated. She could not remember whether these communications had headings. She was then asked by letter to go to the Gardenia Restaurant, and a card of admittance was enclosed, also a slip of paper, telling her she would be arrested, and that she should bring a change of clothes with her. She did not think there was anything in the letter about not mentioning the matter outside. Before she went to the restaurant she got the following letter:—

"March 1, 1912.

"Dear Friend,—In view of the precautions which the police are likely to take on Monday, and in order to increase the total effect of the protest, I have thought it well that I and several others should take some preliminary action to-day. The rest of the volunteers and any who, having made their protest to-day, are still at liberty, will go and make a brave fight on

Monday. My thanks and greetings to you.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) E. PANKHURST."

After a description of proceedings at the Gardenia Restaurant, Mrs. Pankhurst cross-examined the witness.

Cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst.

You told the court how you went to several of these meetings. Did you go quite willingly?—Certainly I did, of my own free will.

Are you here willingly to-day?—Certainly I am. Well, how do I know, when I was asked the questions, that I have to appear here before you in court? I never would have given the evidence I have given.

Then how came you to have these questions put to you?—Two gentlemen interviewed me in Holloway last Saturday, and asked me all these various questions, and at the same time stated that my brother had already given up my stones and what letters he could find of mine. Then they asked me various questions, which, of course, I answered.

Did they tell you for what purpose they were asking the questions?—Not until they had taken it all down, and then one of them turned to matron and said, "We may want her as a witness."

"You cannot expect a poor person to know."

Whom did you think those gentlemen were?—I thought they were either solicitors or detectives. You cannot expect a poor person to know as much as a rich person with regard to the law.

You have a little boy?—I have. You have already told the court that you expected a short sentence, have you not?—Yes.

Was any inducement held out to you that by giving this information your sentence would be shortened, so that you could see your little boy again?—Not exactly it was not, but one of them said would it not be better for me to see the child, or something to that effect; but no inducement was held out. I had no promise or threat given to me.

"Would not have said a word."

Did you hope in your distress that you would be able to see your little boy?—Yes, I did; I thought, of course, it would shorten my sentence. But had I known this, I would not have said a word.

You said in your evidence that someone spoke to you abruptly and harshly in one of those places where you went?—Yes.

Is that what you are accustomed to as a member of the Union?—No, not as a rule, although I have been spoken to by some of the bigger members very uncalled for on different occasions—not at all sisterly—but this one spoke to me quite out of the way, because I turned to my friend and said, "I have a good mind not to go in at all now."

But when you said that, did you feel that you were under any compulsion at all to do anything that you have done?—No, not at all; I knew I should either go there or not go.

Then in spite of this annoyance you had by somebody's abrupt manner, you still determined to do what you thought good for the women's suffrage cause?—Yes, I did, or else I should not have carried it through.

I am not a lawyer, and you are not a lawyer. Did you think that you had to answer all those questions which were put to you?—I should not have answered them otherwise, only I thought it would shorten my sentence.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I called attention to the fact that neither of us were lawyers—

The Clerk: Which questions did you refer to?

Mrs. Pankhurst: The questions which she has been answering to-day, and which she answered in prison.

The Clerk (to the witness): What is your answer to that?

The Witness: I thought that by so doing it would shorten my sentence.

The Clerk: By answering the questions put to you both in prison and here?

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the witness): You thought that if you answered those questions it would shorten your sentence?—I did. I thought that was the end in view.

And so you could return to your little boy?—That was my main trouble, the little child.

Did you give anyone authority to hand over your private papers and belongings to the police?—No, I did not! I knew nothing about it until last Saturday.

"Would rather have served six months."

Cross-examined by Mr. Muir, witness stated that she had a husband and three children, aged twenty-four, twenty-one, and four. The latter, a boy, was not strong, and needed a mother's care. She was not due for release until April 25, and was very anxious to get back to her little boy. Asked if this desire were stronger than any other feeling, she said, "Well, I think that is only natural, too, although as I said before, I would rather have served six months than that this should have happened." She did not see Mrs. Tuke at the Gardenia, nor did she know her by sight.

Re-examined by Mr. Bodkin, she stated that she had told the truth, and would not wilfully tell a falsehood in order to get back to her boy. With reference to giving authority to anyone to get her private papers, she did give a slip of paper to a friend asking that a type-written note left on the table should be given to the bearer.

But that was not an authority to get her private papers.

In reply to Mr. Muir, she stated that the type-written letter which she gave her friend authority to get was simply the instructions to volunteers. She had other private papers at home.

Questioned by Mr. Bodkin, she said her brother was in court. He lived with her and had access to her room.

Mrs. Pankhurst pointed out that in the report of witness's evidence they left out her remark that the poor did not know as much about law as the rich. The clerk stated that this was not evidence, to which Mrs. Pankhurst replied: "It is a matter of whether people get trapped into doing things." Mrs. Tageant, Clapham, stated that Mrs. Ball had worked for her, and on March 4 gave her a slip of paper of instructions to volunteers, which witness put into the fire.

Various other witnesses gave evidence as to the breaking of windows on March 1.

After the prisoners had been remanded until the next morning

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said: You must realise that this is one of the most complicated cases which has come before you, and that it does require a very great deal of thought and care on the part of the defendants, and therefore I hope that you will now consider an application on behalf of my wife and myself for bail.

The Magistrate: Not at present.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: The position of a remanded prisoner is not one where either the physical or mental condition is such as to enable one to form a very clear judgment.

The Magistrate: You are remanded until to-morrow, no bail. I should like to say with regard to the statement which Mrs. Pankhurst made the last time we were here, that she had not any facilities; I now know that that statement was absolutely incorrect.

Mrs. Pankhurst: No, it was correct.

The Magistrate: I know that you have had every facility given to you; you have been allowed to see your typist every day; you have been allowed to see your Solicitor at all times, and you have been allowed to have interviews with the other Defendants.

Mrs. Pankhurst: No.

The Magistrate: I have seen it in the hand-writing of the Home Secretary. Therefore the statement you made to me was entirely incorrect.

Mrs. Pankhurst: That is not so. I beg to refer you to the Governor and Matron of the gaol, who know that my statements are correct.

The Magistrate: No.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I ask you to hear what I have to say.

The Magistrate: Next.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I have not the facilities of a remanded prisoner. The Home Secretary is misinformed when he says so. I refer you to the Governor of the Prison.

Wednesday Morning.

The hearing was resumed on Wednesday morning, when further evidence as to the breaking of windows in November and March was given. The manager of the London Pavilion was called with regard to agreements for meetings held there by the W.S.P.U. He said the cheques were drawn on the Union's account, and all payments were punctual.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence asked the magistrate to allow the defendants to lunch together. This was granted.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., asked to be allowed to see Mrs. Pankhurst during the luncheon interval; the magistrate granted his request, and the court adjourned for a short interval.

QUI ACCUSE, EXCUSE!

From the *Standard* of March 20:—

It would be interesting to know upon what grounds Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., and Mr. Whitehouse, M.P., and other so-called "constitutional" Suffragists base their repeated assertions that the militant section form but a "minute fraction" of those women who favour the enfranchisement of women. The list of subscribers to the special £100,000 fund asked for by the Women's Social and Political Union, as published weekly in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, during the past two years, contain some 25,000 to 30,000 contributions, some of which are from meetings and branches, and, therefore, represent the gifts of several persons.

And when amongst the names of contributors one finds such as the following: Lady Antrim, Lady Willoughby de Broke, Sir Edward and Lady Buxton, Princess Duleep Singh, Mr. Cecil Chapman (the London police magistrate), Lady Sybil Smith, Lady Meyer, Lady Stout, Mrs. Stepmay Rawson, Dr. Flora Murray, Violet Tweedale, Muriel Lady De La Warr, Decima Moore, Eva Moore, Lord Lytton, Miss Mary Bateman, Mrs. Eva MacLaren, Lady Maud Warrander, Miss M. Robertson, Mrs. D. A. Thomas, Mrs. Ronald McNeill, the Church League for Women Suffrage, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Irish Women's Franchise League, the Australian and New Zealand Women's Franchise League, &c., it would appear unreasonable to ask the public to accept assurances from the supporters of the Conciliation Bill that their colleagues are not connected with militant methods while so many of their members are and encourage the most notoriously militant society by the most practical of all sympathy.

The above is not, as might be supposed by our readers, an unsolicited testimonial to the activities of that highly organised body, the Women's Social and Political Union, written by an enthusiastic member. On the contrary, it appears over the signature of Miss Gladys Pott, "of the Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage." Our heart warms to a generous foe at all times. But are we right in calling Miss Pott a foe? Should we not rather welcome in her a convert at last? It is very confusing.

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A SOCIAL DISEASE.

Destitution, Sidney and Beatrice Webb state, must in no way be confounded with poverty. Anyone may be poor and yet be a decent self-respecting member of society in any class. Not so with the victims of destitution. These latter are not only without the necessities of life, so that health, strength, and vitality are imperilled, but, more fatal still, they exist in a state and amidst surroundings that inevitably entail a condition of mental, moral, and spiritual degradation that causes them to be a veritable canker at the heart of the nation. Destitution is, in fact, "a disease of society."

The extent to which our country to-day is suffering from this disease is seldom realised. "The United Kingdom contains, at all times, between three and four millions of persons who are . . . demonstrably suffering in body and mind, in physique and in character, from a lack of the necessities of life."

The authors claim that in their book, "The Prevention of Destitution," they set forth a constructive policy by the adoption of which the nation could, in a very few years, get rid of the great bulk of involuntary destitution. They classify the various causes of destitution and deal in detail with the problem presented by each. They aver that practically every case comes under one or other of five headings: (1) Sickness; (2) Death of bread-winner; (3) Old age; (4) Imbecility, lunacy, feeble-mindedness; (5) Unemployment of able-bodied persons—those unable to get situations and those who are "work-shy."

The scientific method of cure for each of these five causes of destitution is most ably expounded. No review can even outline so comprehensively vast a subject. Throughout, the authors advocate prevention, and utterly condemn the existing Government and private philanthropic systems alike, which always work and aim not at prevention, but at cure after the disease has appeared. Their indictment of the present Insurance Bill is specially strong and adverse. We commend it to Mr. Lloyd George's consideration.

The suggestion of balancing the fluctuations in the labour market by withholding all possible Government contracts at good times of trade, and giving them out whenever trade is slack, is another item Cabinet Ministers would do well to ponder.

As the authors remark, to give "relief" is easy, but social reconstruction to do away with the necessity for relief needs as specialised a study as bridge-building; and our Ministers are lamentably unequipped for the task. The emphatic verdict of two who are most highly equipped is that: "The disease of destitution from which our society is suffering is in no wise inevitable; it continues merely because we do not choose to prevent it. . . . We have both the knowledge and the power to cope with it, as we have coped with cholera and typhus."

The advance of knowledge enables all (except those who refuse to learn) to understand by what steps we can prevent it."

E. M. D.

DELIGHTFUL STORIES.

Anti-Suffragists and Suffragettes alike must agree in one thing, that they welcome a book by Miss Evelyn Sharp. No one can resist her humour, and in this latest volume from her pen they will find it in abundant measure. But lest some "Anti" who may be taking in VOTES FOR WOMEN as a Lenten penance should be led by the title to think that the whole book is concerned with the Victories of Olivia, and should regretfully decide that such a theme is too unwomanly for a follower of Mrs. Humphrey Ward to pursue, let us hasten to say that Olivia's victories, delightful as they are, only occupy about one-sixth of the book, which is really a collection of stories. We must, however, find room for a fragment of dialogue between the mother and son concerning the new governess, Miss Dakin (Olivia):

"I think there is something odd about her," says the mother, uneasily.

"Odd?" queried her son. "She is unpleasantly modern, and—far too free in her manner, and not quiet enough for my taste. But I should not have called her odd. On the contrary, I am afraid she is a type that is becoming distressingly common."

"Didn't you think it rather odd that she should know enough Greek to be able to help you with your proofs that day when they had to go off in such a hurry?" asked his mother.

That will show you how little Olivia knew her place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for yourself.

Then there is "Peggy and the Engineer Man." After reading it we were consumed, and are still consumed, with an intense longing to know if, among the bundles of papers carried off by the detectives in the taxi—or was it two taxis!—on the night of the raid, there was possibly a copy of Miss Sharp's book. There might easily have been. Each of the leaders might have bought one, and, at the risk of giving another "clue" to Scotland Yard, we may say that Christabel might have been carrying one in her bag when she left Clement's Inn. Now, if the Government officials who are in charge of the case are reading the book, can we not imagine the anxious thought with which they will study "Peggy and the Engineer Man"? For it deals with trap doors and secret passages, which terminate in hollow oak trees, and which commence in desolate marshes. And are there not trees in Clement's Inn, and is not Westminster built on marshes? We say no more. We have helped Scotland Yard quite enough.

We have no space to mention separately the other sketches in this most delightful book. We must, how-

"The Prevention of Destitution." By Beatrice Webb. Longmans Green and Co.

"The Victories of Olivia." By Evelyn Sharp. Macmillan. 6s.

ever, say just one word of personal thanks to Miss Sharp for her "Three Reminiscences." How does she do it? It is not only her own childhood, with its restrictions and longings, that she sketches with her light and unerring touch. It is the childhood of everyone who has ever had a Nanny and a nursery, who has bought sugar sticks at the Lodges in Kensington Gardens and brandy balls from the old man on the beach at Brighton. A. H.

ESKIMO WOMEN.

Several years' residence in charge of a mission hospital on the coast of Labrador gives Dr. Hutton very special opportunities for studying the Eskimos and their customs. He loves these brave, hardy people, and gives a sympathetic picture of their lives and their homes. They are a hard-working people, especially the women, who are brought up to it from their youth. The author tells us that the little girls are all kept busy helping with the work at home, but the boys enjoy liberty and play till they are old enough to join their fathers as hunters! Even then the division of labour does not seem to us very fair. It may surprise the British housewife to know that cooking is a very small part of the Eskimo woman's work, as the diet is mostly raw and dried meat. But the wife scrapes and prepares the skins and cuts up for drying the flesh of the animals her husband brings back from the hunt, she makes the clothing of the family (mostly of fur), including the boots. In fact, one of her most valuable assets is her skill in making soft, pliable boots. Dr. Hutton has written a very interesting and instructive book on a little-known people, and not one of the least charms of the book are the excellent photographs with which he illustrates his narrative.

THE VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS.

"I may excite laughter by dropping a hint, which I mean to pursue some future time, for I really think that women ought to have representatives instead of being arbitrarily governed without having any direct share allowed them in the deliberations of government." This statement, in "The Rights of Women," Camilla Jebb asserts to be the sole direct allusion Mary Wollstonecraft makes to the burning subject of "Votes for Women." It may be so, but the whole tenour of all Mary Wollstonecraft's writings points so unmistakably in that direction, the views she set forth so long ago are so identical with those inspiring the Woman's Movement of the present day, that, as Elizabeth Robins Pennell truly says, "Her's was the voice of one crying in the wilderness to prepare the way." This latest book ("Mary Wollstonecraft," by Camilla Jebb. Herbert and Daniel (The Regent Library). 2s. 6d. net) upon this remarkable pioneer, which consists of a short biography and most copious excerpts from her various writings, gives an excellent, concise, general idea of what Mary Wollstonecraft's views were on the whole subject of Woman.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Autobiography of a Working Woman." By Adelaide Popp. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 3s. 6d. net.

"Dream Life and Real Life." By Olive Schreiner. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 2s. net.

"Dreams." By Olive Schreiner. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 2s. net.

"Among the Eskimos of Labrador." By S. K. Hutton, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.G.S. Seeley, Service and Co., Limited, London. Price 16s. nett.

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THE DRAMA OF LOYALTY.

Every Suffragette should do her utmost to see the beautiful performance of "Iphigenia" now being given at the Kingsway every Tuesday and Friday afternoon.

It is a Suffragette drama, like every play of Euripides. No other poet has shown so deep a compassion for women, has sympathised so intimately with their aspect of life, or realised so well the irony of their hopes and disillusion. In the "Iphigenia" we are not overwhelmed by the sorrow as in the "Trojan Women," nor by the rage of womanhood as in the "Medea," nor by the farce of man's chivalry as in the "Alcestis," nor by inspired revolt as in the "Bacchae." The scene is more gentle, and of all the Greek dramas this almost alone may be said to have a happy ending, unless the return of Alcestis from the peace of death to renewed life with a typical husband can be called happy.

At the present moment the production of "Iphigenia" is particularly opportune. The high-hearted and sensitive Greek girl is living in loneliness among a savage horde of barbarians, who practise human sacrifice on principle, and remain blind to their own degradation, though capable of certain primitive virtues. The drama turns on the wit and courage with which she delivers from these hideous surroundings not only herself, but her shipwrecked brother with his friend, on the point of being offered up in sacrifice to custom. She even drives a ray of enlightenment into the dark mind of the barbaric king, and wins from him the release of the captive women who had served her.

But fine and unsentimental as is the whole conception of her character (she can hate and lie with a persistence far from "womanly"), it is the story of her flight and her appeal to the other women not to betray her that makes the drama specially appropriate now. She goes from each to each of the Greek prisoners who are with her, touching the hand of one, the cheek of another, the knees of a third, and calling on them by their common womanhood to be true. "Are we not women," she says:—

Are we not women, you and I,
A broken race, to one another true,
And strong in our shared secrets? Help me through
This strait; keep hid the secret of our flight,
And share our peril!

Not in vain is the appeal. Though the prisoners expect nothing but to be left to rot their lives away in the gaol of that bloodstained land, their answer comes at once:—

Be of good heart, sweet mistress. Only go
To happiness. No child of man shall know
From us thy secret. Hear me, Zeus on high!

So the great poet twenty-three centuries ago described the drama of woman's loyalty played upon that cruel coast of the Euxine, far from Greece. And the journalists of Fleet Street call such loyalty "fanatical" when it is found in Suffragettes again to-day. Very well, then; let them call it so. Euripides was a better writer than most Fleet Street journalists.

A Greek drama has seldom been more beautifully performed than this at the Kingsway. All the company is excellent, and whoever would know Miss Lillah McCarthy's power at its best should see her in this part. H. W. N.

A NEW WOMAN PLAYWRIGHT.

"Rutherford and Son," by Miss K. G. Sowerby, was produced at the Little Theatre last week. It is a play that is intensely interesting and extraordinarily arresting. The action "goes" with a completeness of construction and an almost uncanny insight into the psychological development of the character that is astounding in a first play.

The character of the old father, grim, implacable, wrapped up in business, glorifying "Rutherfords" and sacrificing everything to it, was admirably acted by Mr. Norman McKinnel. He showed the stern business man, just, without being merciful, with no thought beyond the business and its ultimate passing on from one generation to another in unbroken line. The two weak sons were made weaker than ever by the overpowering personality of their father, the foreman hypnotised by the power and grasp of the head of the firm, and the maiden aunt brought up in the family tradition and glorying in it.

The two younger women are the rebels made strong by love—the daughter by her secret passion for the foreman, which brings her, through shame and disgrace, to an ultimate realisation of the meaning of true freedom, and the daughter-in-law, who conquers in the end by her love for her baby son.

The whole action passes in the hideous unhomelike parlour of this North Country family, and it is acted throughout with such simplicity, naturalness, and real truth that one felt sometimes as if one had no right to be looking on at a scene so intimate.

All the acting was so good that it is difficult to particularise. Miss Edyth Olive, as the daughter, was, however, so extraordinarily true in her reading of the character that even when she was doing nothing one felt the force of her personality.

The play should have a long run, for it is seldom indeed that we have a play where the tragedy and comedy of life are intermingled so humanely and so naturally. R. P.

"THE NEXT RELIGION."

The production of Mr. Israel Zangwill's banned play, "The Next Religion," to be given by the New Players at the London Pavilion on April 18 and 19, is causing immense interest in all circles, and those desiring to become members of this enterprising society should apply to the Hon. Sec., 19, Over Strand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.

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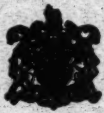
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1912.

INCITEMENT.

It is all very well to upbraid the militant Suffragists and to condemn their methods, but as a matter of fact it is the politicians who are to-day, as they have always been in the past, directly responsible for inciting both men and women in search of the Vote to the use of militant methods. Militancy has, where every extension of the franchise is concerned, been the only thing which both supporters and opponents of franchise reform have concurred in accepting as evidence of a popular demand for such reform. The politicians have always in irresponsible fashion played with the great force of popular indignation, and then have been surprised at the result. We will give one or two illustrations of this. It was, of course, not until there was riotous conduct on the part of the populace that the opponents of the Reform Bill of 1832 gave way. Everybody admits that. Now, for some time prior to the extension of the franchise in 1867 the country was in a most peaceful state. In Spencer Walpole's "History of Twenty-five Years" we read that "there was no doubt that the opponents of reform had grounds for believing that they had secured more than an ephemeral victory. The Bill of the Government had excited none of the determination which had strengthened the hands of the Whig Ministry of 1832. Bill after Bill had been introduced, and Bill after Bill had been either defeated or withdrawn, and the people had made no sign of either disappointment or discontent." While the opponents of Franchise Reform were jubilant at the calmness of the public, and made great capital out of it, supporters of such Reform were proportionately depressed, and we find, in reading the Parliamentary debates of the sixties, that speaker after speaker is at great pains to answer the taunts of the anti-reformers; to explain away this calmness, and to urge that to anticipate turbulence and revolution and to legislate before they arise is the truly statesmanlike course. The Hyde Park railings episode, startling in itself, and as an indication of what might occur thereafter, silenced the gibes of anti-reformers, and gave a final impetus to the Electoral Reform Bill.

We come now to a more modern instance of the manner in which the politicians excite disorder by pouring scorn upon peaceful methods and demanding from the disfranchised a sterner testimony to their desire for freedom. The last extension of the Parliamentary franchise was made in 1884. What was the favourite argument against the Reform Bill of that day? That the men to whom the Bill applied did not want the Vote. And how was that charge of indifference supported? By the assertion that there existed no turbulence and disorder. A study of the statements of the politicians of that day on the subject of methods is well worth while. Lord Randolph Churchill, who was the most active in resistance to the Reform Bill, said publicly that in connection with previous Reform Bills there had been intense political excitement all over the country, that there had been "considerable disturbances and dangerous riots," and that "to have refused to enlarge the electoral rolls at these times would have brought about a revolution." He then proceeded to argue that because there were "no disturbances" and "no riots" in 1884, this was proof that the existing electoral arrangements "do not excite any very general or deep dissatisfaction." And he further said:—

If I saw the agricultural labourers in a great state of excitement over this question; if I saw them holding mass meetings, collecting together from all parts, neglecting their work, contributing from their scanty funds, marching on London, tearing down the railings of Hyde Park, engaging the police and even the military, I should say to myself these men have great and bitter grievances which have not been represented by Parliament or have been neglected by Parliament. They know that if they

had the franchise those grievances would no longer be neglected, that they would be represented and remedied, and they have made up their minds to have the vote. The fact that they have made up their minds to have the vote shows pretty well that they will know how to use the vote, and that if we wish for peace, order and stability in the realm of Britain we had better give them the vote. And on those grounds, and on those grounds alone, would I consent to equalise the political position of the agricultural labourer and the town artisan, and to destroy a wise inequality which has been created by Nature and reiterated from time to time in our history by custom, precedent and law.

These words are strangely like those of Mr. Hobhouse, to which we shall again refer in a moment. Lord Randolph Churchill's challenge did not pass unnoticed, and was soon followed by the famous Aston Riots, a description of which, in the vivid language of Lord Randolph's son, appears on another page.

In consequence, Lord Randolph Churchill moved a vote of censure upon Mr. Chamberlain, in which he asked the House of Commons to declare that it regretted to find in the speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interfere with the freedom of political discussion and a justification of riot and disorder." This charge against Mr. Chamberlain was supported by quotations from that Minister's decidedly militant orations. He laid especial stress upon the following words of Mr. Chamberlain:—

The opinion of the streets has had a mighty force in our political history. It has shaken monarchs on their thrones. (A voice: "And knocked them off.") (Laughter.) It has overturned Ministers. (Hear, hear.) In 1832 it carried a Reform Bill in the teeth of the House of Lords—a voice: "And will again"—more powerful than that with which we have to deal, after a conflict which had brought the country almost to the verge of revolution. We read that at that time there were 100,000 men in Birmingham and the surrounding districts who were sworn to march on London, if need were, in defence of their liberties. (Cries of, "We will again if required.") The peace was broken in many parts of the country, and there were at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol fierce outbreaks of popular passion, accompanied by a great destruction of property. We had hoped that we had left those days of disorder far behind. But there are still evil counsellors—(cheers)—provoking and slandering the people—(cheers)—who are straining their privileges to the utmost, and who obstinately resist the extension of the popular liberties. Let them take heed. If we are commencing this great conflict with temper and moderation, it would be a mistake to suppose that we are less earnest or resolute than our forefathers.

These gentlemen presume on your love of order and hatred of violence. Unless this generation has lost other qualities which have made the name of Englishmen respected throughout the world, they will show a courage and resolution, a love of liberty and hatred of injustice, which will sweep away those puny obstacles which now for a time are barring the advancing tide.

Mr. Chamberlain defended himself with characteristic vigour, said (as militant Suffragists have said of Mr. Hobhouse and other Ministers who have giped at the moderation of their campaign) that the real sedition mongers were Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends. He even went so far as to name Lord Salisbury in this connection.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Gladstone made his famous speech on methods, but before he came to a statement of first principles he, like Mr. Chamberlain, carried the war into the enemy's camp. He quoted Lord Salisbury as saying, "I only hope that if Mr. Chamberlain incites the people to riot he will head the riot himself. I only hope that if he is going, according to his threat, to march to London from Birmingham, we may see him at the head of the advancing column. My experience is that those who will have to receive him will be able to give a good account of him, and that Mr. Chamberlain will return from the adventure with a broken head if nothing more." Mr. Gladstone asked: since his colleague's actions were being made the subject of criticism, whether the words he had quoted were "wise language, prudent language, tolerable language, when used by a man in the position of the Marquess of Salisbury."

The one most memorable passage in Gladstone's speech was his impassioned declaration that "if no instructions had ever been issued in political crises to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence, to love order and to exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained."

And now we come to the most calculated and wicked incitement to violence that any responsible man, and more especially any Minister of the Crown, has ever uttered. Mr. Hobhouse, who besides being a Cabinet Minister, is one of the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage movement, has deliberately and publicly expressed his contempt for all peaceful and constitutional agitation for women's enfranchisement, and has denied that a demand for this reform exists, because, as he expresses it, there has been no popular sentimental uprising such as accounted for the burning of Nottingham Castle and the destruction of Hyde Park railings. Politicians who hold this view, and there is nothing to prove that the Prime Minister himself does not share it, are not fit for public office, and are a danger to society. How disgraceful it is that women should be told that peaceful demands will not be listened to! What wonder that all good citizens, whether men or women, are determined to end or mend the present Government—to compel them to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill or to thrust them from office!

THE HOME OFFICE AND THE HOME.

By Evelyn Sharp.

I am really rather sorry for John. He is a lifelong Liberal, a brother to a Suffragette, and a confirmed Suffragist forced-to-reconsider-his-position-owing-to-recent-regrettable, &c. No man who is all these things at once can fail to be an object of pity to the charitable in spirit. The situation would be simplified instantly, of course, if he were to quarrel with Phyllis. Then he could be more lifelong and Liberal and confirmed than ever, and all would be well. The great obstacle to family harmony is not, however, its quarrels—which rarely occur outside sensational fiction—but its avoidance of quarrels. John and Phyllis have been avoiding a quarrel ever since she became a militant Suffragist five years ago. Before that, she was just a confirmed Suffragist, like John (neither of them knew it, by the way, till Phyllis became a militant), so there was nothing to quarrel about.

Still, they have always avoided quarrelling rather more successfully than most people who live together because they happen to be more like friends than relatives usually are; and John has that peculiar kind of bigness in him that enables him to go on being friends with a person, whatever happens. Phyllis has it, too; but in her it is tempered by a raging, remorseless sense of humour that would render any woman a totally unfit companion for a lifelong Liberal and confirmed Suffragist. On the whole, I feel John is a claimant for sympathy; or, rather, I used to feel all this until the episode of the Home Office occurred to clear the air almost as effectually as a quarrel would have done.

It began at breakfast time, when John was performing his daily feat of diving at his boots and lacing them up in the intervals of snatching mouthfuls of bacon and eggs—like the seals at the Zoo, Phyllis always says, only that the seals get their mouthfuls when they dive and not on their return to the surface. John had just dived again with his mouthful when Phyllis threw down the newspaper with an exclamation.

"Is it because man's place is the Home Office that he can't give a plain answer to a plain question when he's asked one in the House of Commons?" she demanded in a heated tone. John showed a purple face above the edge of the table, and wanted to know what she meant. "That's what I want to know of the Home Secretary," retorted Phyllis. "Listen to this: 'The sentence to be passed on a convicted offender is entirely a matter for the discretion of the Court within the limits of the Statute under which the conviction takes place. I have no reason to doubt that, in the cases referred to, discretion has been exercised properly and with due regard to, and with full consideration for . . . —oh! why can't he say 'yes' or 'no,' and have done with it?'"

"Look here!" said the lifelong Liberal. "We agreed not to mention the beastly thing at breakfast time. Do take the lid off the teapot; I've only got three minutes, and the coal strike and the trains—" The rest went into the tablecloth as he dived at the second boot.

"Darling, you ought to be Home Secretary. He answers questions just as plainly as that," observed Phyllis, transferring the uncovered teapot to the window-sill and then returning to her newspaper. "Listen how he goes on: 'No sufficient cause has been shown for interference on my part, but I should, in ordinary course, consider on its merits any reasonable, or what I should consider a reasonable representation, on the part of . . . Do you think they talk like that all day in the Home Office? No wonder they never get anything done!'"

"It seems quite clear to me," said John. By a miracle he had a whole minute to spare, and spent it in being elder-brotherly. "Compared with some of your answers to some of my questions, relating to the spring-cleaning of my tie-drawer, for instance, which I may mention has never been properly explained—"

"That clock's a minute slow," mentioned Phyllis.

"I wish," said John, when he came home that night, "you'd remember not to put my slippers in the fender. You know I always like them in the waste-paper basket."

"Admitting," said Phyllis, "that the waste-paper basket is in the ordinary course the right depository for a man's slippers, I am at the same time open to representations from the proper quarter, and, having due regard to all the circumstances of the case, I am prepared to consider on its merits any proof submitted to me by any individual possessor of slippers, as to the desirability or the contrary of placing slippers in any other situation than that mentioned on the paper. At the same time—"

It was a pity that the door banged just as she was getting into her stride. She made up for it, however, at dinner time, which proceeded peacefully enough on the usual method of avoiding all subjects that really mattered, until John delivered himself into her hands by turning sarcastic over the pudding.

"I always like to meet an old friend," he observed, regarding it affectionately. "It is an old friend, isn't it? And is it hot or cold? I mean, shall I give you some on the hot plate that has just been washed in cold water, or on the cold plate that has just been washed in hot water? Or would you prefer—" The sparkle in Phyllis's eye should have warned him; but he saw it too late.

"The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative," she told him glibly. "With regard to the second, I am informed that there has been no desire shown to discriminate between hot and cold in the department referred to, though I have no doubt that had an application been made to the right quarter on the matter in question, every effort would have been made to discuss it on its merits. With regard to the third point, I must ask for notice—"

"Look here!" thundered John. "What are you playing at?"

The sparkle suddenly died out of her eyes.

"I'm not playing," she said.

There was a silence that lasted only about five seconds, but was so intense as to seem like minutes. They sat staring dumbly at one another across the little round table; and they both felt that for the first time in five years they really saw one another.

"If—if it irritates you," she went on presently, in a voice that shook with nervousness, "to be answered in that non-committal way when I do it for fun, what do you suppose it means to us to be answered like that when it's a matter of women's lives?" He crumbled his bread into fragments, and she blundered along,

groping desperately for the right words. "Our women are there, hundreds of them, shut up in that horrible place, scapegoats for all the women in the world . . . and when decent men—there are some, even in the House of Commons!—get up and ask why these women are being treated as criminals, then some dreary official walks round the subject for ten minutes, and thinks he has earned the salary that women help to pay him! And men like you, kind, nice men, who wouldn't hurt a dog, you let the thing go on, and don't stir a finger to stop the disgrace of it. And women like me don't tell you the truth because we hate making things unpleasant at home. We just pretend, till we lose our own respect, and yours too. If I hadn't been a coward for five years I should have quarrelled with you and left you long ago!"

"You couldn't have quarrelled alone, old girl. You see, I was funkling it just as much as you were," said John. So she realised that they had not quarrelled now.

When the maid, who was a relic of another home in the past, came in to clear away, she asked if the pudding was overboiled, or was it that Master John had not liked it?

"The answer to both is in the negative," they shouted in unison; and the relic of a home of the past, that had never faintly resembled a Home Office, went away to tell the cook that she hadn't seen them so merry, not since Miss Phyllis first wanted a vote.

They quarrel daily now. And a lifelong Liberal, to the complete satisfaction of his sister, is thoroughly reconsidering his position in the light of recent "regrettable" occurrences.



By CHARLES R. SYKES.

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VIEWS OF PROMINENT MEN AND WOMEN.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

In the course of an article headed "Justice!" in the *Throne* for March 20, Lord Willoughby de Broke says:—

If it be right that acts of violence, and paragraphs and speeches inciting to violence on the part of women, should be dealt with by the Executive, the Executive must deal with all other sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion in the same spirit. Tony-pandyism was just as great a menace to the community as the doings of the Women's Social and Political Union. Not long ago the trades unions exercised the grossest intimidation towards a woman who would not join a union, and we heard not one word of protest from any Cabinet Minister. These reflections bring us face to face with the question of equality before the law, which has such an overwhelming relation to the Coal Strike.

MRS. COBDEN-SANDERSON.

In a letter published in the *Times* Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson writes:—

Will you allow me an opportunity of placing before those Liberal members of Parliament headed by Sir William Byles, who on account of the breaking of a few panes of glass are now prepared to sacrifice principle on the altar of property, how similar sentiments on the part of weak-kneed Liberals seventy-four years ago were viewed by a man who never sought office or accepted a title, and yet called himself, and was, a Liberal? When in 1838 the country was alarmed by the destruction of property which followed the holding of some midnight meetings by the Chartists, Cobden thus expressed his views in a letter to a friend:—

As regards general politics, I see nothing in the present Radical outbreak to cause alarm or make one dread the fate of Liberalism. On the contrary, it is preferable to the apathy of the three years when prosperity (or seemingly so) made Tories of all. Nor do I feel at all inclined to give up politics in disgust as you seem to do because of the blunders of the Radicals. They are rash and presumptuous, or ignorant if you will, but are not the governing factions something worse? Is not selfishness or systematic plunder or political knavery as odious as the blunders of democracy? We must choose between the party which governs upon an exclusive or monopoly principle and the people who seek, though blindly perhaps, the good of the vast majority.

History will probably forget the broken windows and remember only that on a critical occasion certain Liberal members, headed by Sir William Byles, deserted their Liberal principles and voted against the political enfranchisement of women.

MISS ETTIE SAYER, M.D., B.S.

In the course of a letter published in the *Times* on March 26, Dr. Ettie Sayer writes:—

I beg leave to refute the statements made in your leading article on hysteria. So far from militancy affording evidence of the presence of this disease, it affords strong proof of its absence. I know personally a very large number of militants, but not one whom any reputable neurologist, after an adequate examination, would certify as suffering from hysteria. Especially is this true of "window-smashers." In order to maintain secrecy, most of those who were chosen to carry out this plan had already had their reliability tested by having been to gaol. Having visited prisons for both sexes, I can assure you that gaol means a very different thing for a man and for a woman. . . . I have friends who went to prison strong, healthy, young Englishwomen, and so far removed from hysteria that they possessed sufficient will power and self-control to endure three solid months of this forcible feeding! Several came out with their physical constitutions shattered not temporarily but permanently; but with their spirits unbroken and with a grim resolution to fight to the death for their cause, which state of mind is as far removed from hysteria as anything which can very well be imagined.

LADY SYBIL SMITH.

In the course of a letter to the *Daily Mail*, headed "A Movement that Cannot be Stopped," Lady Sybil Smith writes:—

To its champions woman suffrage stands for the cause of justice and liberty, of the outcast and the sweated worker. To serve this cause, as they believe, these women do not shrink from the utmost personal sacrifice. For the most part cultivated, refined, and sensitive, they, nevertheless, deliberately face popular execration, the rigours and solitudes of long terms of imprisonment, the miseries of hard labour, and in some cases, heaviest of all, the destruction of home happiness.

Neither is it sufficiently realised what an incentive to violence was provided by the Right Hon. C. Hobhouse in his speech at Bristol on February 16. Making little of the agitation for the vote for women, he said: "We have not had, in the case of woman suffrage demands, the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in

1832 or Hyde Park railings in 1867." Now, Nottingham Castle was burned to the ground in the great agitation for the Reform Bill, also Colwick Castle, and, in addition to other outrages, private and public property to the value of £100,000 was in Bristol destroyed in a single night. It is not suggested that two blacks make a white, the intention is merely to point out that such words from a Cabinet Minister as those quoted are nicely calculated still further to inflame women already dangerously exasperated by the many delays and uncertainties imposed upon them by the Government.

The present state of things, involving, as it does, loss and inconvenience to the general public, must be put an end to. But how is this to be done?

Dam back a river, and it inundates the land; the longer the dam holds the greater the damage. Are the waters to blame for this or is the dam? It depends upon the point of view.

For good or for evil nothing can now stay the force of the woman's movement—repression of extremists but adds to its impetus. Opposition is bound to give way sooner or later; for the good of the whole community it is to be hoped it may be sooner.

As the leader of the militant Suffragists said a few days ago in her speech from the dock, "the individual will disappear, but the cause is going on."

Does the public as represented by our present legislators sufficiently realise what this means?

MR. EDMUND B. D'AUVERGNE.

In the course of a letter published in the *Nation* Mr. Edmund B. D'Auvergne said:—

After the meeting at the London Opera House on Thursday last, I came upon a crowd of men and girls, among whom were several young men with the appearance of students, pursuing a single girl who had the courage to wear her W.S.P.U. badge. I was on the flank of the crowd, and, as far as I could see, the foremost of the band were striking at their victim with sticks and rolled-up newspapers. Some elderly, respectable-looking men looked on with amusement. The insults shouted were of the foulest description. I uttered some cries of protest, and rushed into the crowd. I was instantly struck in the back, and knocked forward on to my knees. When I recovered myself, the crowd had passed on, pursuing their quarry down Kingsway. Similar scenes have been reported from various parts of London. I have just heard with satisfaction that an elderly "gentleman," attacking a suffragette with his silver-mounted cane, had it taken from him, and broken over his head by a young man. Now, let me say at once that I utterly condemn these window-breaking tactics as stupid and wrong; but I have sufficient sense of proportion to perceive that it is, after all, one of the least forms of violence, injuring, in fact, only wealthy insurance companies. By no sane person can it be magnified into a heinous or contemptible crime. For many years past it has been the custom for these very students, who are now so strong on the stronger side as champions of law and order, to smash everything that is smashable at Earl's Court on the last night of the Exhibition. Yet I never heard it suggested that these young hooligans should be lynched or sent to prison with hard labour. What they do in a spirit of imbecile mischief is regarded as a joke; when a girl does it in disinterested devotion to a cause, it becomes an enormous crime. I remember that in May, 1908, at the Guildhall, the alderman, Sir Walter Wilkin, severely reprimanded the manager of an hotel for having blackened the eye of an alien thief whom he had caught in the act of stealing an overcoat, and the prisoner's sentence was reduced accordingly. But the indulgence extended to the rowdies of Earl's Court and to the Syrian pickpocket is denied, by common consent, to the high-minded and courageous English girl, who, out of zeal for the cause of her sex, commits the enormous crime of breaking a shop-window.

DR. HERBERT CARRE-SMITH.

In the course of a letter published in the *Times* of March 21, under the title "Insurgent Hysteria," Dr. Herbert Carre-Smith writes:—

To attribute this outbreak to mere hysteria is to inflame them more and more. No, there is something much stronger behind this movement. Gently nurtured women, and women who earn their own living in professions, &c., do not leave their comfortable homes for the miseries and hardships of prison life unless they have some much more powerful cause at work. Now, I am an anti-Suffragist, and I am absolutely against them in their methods, so it cannot be said that I am agreeing with them, and I know that to admit this is to make many enemies; but let us at least be just and admit that it requires some considerable courage for ladies to participate in acts which will certainly result in their being sent to prison. . . . It is not the slightest use trying to evade the points the Suffragists have at issue. They are that they consider women have wrongs which should be redressed. Whether one is of opinion that it is to be accomplished by giving them the vote is another matter.

MRS. PANKHURST.

There was a disgraceful scene in the Bow Street Police Court last Tuesday at the end of the hearing. The magistrate announced that Mrs. Pankhurst had made an altogether inaccurate statement in saying that full facilities for the preparation of her defence had not been granted her. Mrs. Pankhurst rose in the dock to protest the truth of what she had said, but the magistrate (Mr. Curtis Bennett) refused to listen, and shouted her down with a discourtesy and harshness little suited to his position. Still protesting that facilities were not given her, she was ordered out of the dock, and when her solicitor handed up his correspondence with the Home Office upon the subject, the magistrate declined to listen to any explanation. The facts of the matter are that Mrs. Pankhurst has not been allowed to receive the letters and visits permitted to prisoners on remand (the position she is supposed to occupy in regard to her defence); and that when her private secretary is allowed to see her, not only has a wardress been posted within hearing, but a member of the prison clerical staff has been sent with notebook and pencil to take down what she says. It is obvious that under such circumstances no defence can be prepared. Even when her solicitor came, a member of the clerical staff insisted on being present, so that the solicitor actually withdrew from the prison. He was afterwards recalled owing to a telephone message from the Home Office; but this disregard of the common regulations was but an instance of the petty persecution to which Mrs. Pankhurst is exposed. For even a convicted prisoner, not merely on remand, is allowed to see the solicitor alone when preparing a defence against a further charge. It is scandalous that such a prisoner should not be allowed to see a private secretary alone, and if, as we are informed, this is indeed one of the prison regulations, we can only say that a grave prison abuse has thus been inadvertently brought to light, and must be added to the many already exposed by the Suffragettes in Holloway. Further, we understand that up to the present only two interviews between the co-defendants at Holloway in presence of their solicitor have been granted. The whole scandal is being again referred directly to the Home Office, we hope with some chance of redress.

But as we go to press, Mr. Lansbury, M.P., coming direct from an interview with Mrs. Pankhurst, gives it as his opinion that she really appears to be very ill indeed and suffering from severe mental strain. If she is to have a fair trial, it is absolutely necessary that she should be freed from all these irritations and given free and full scope to work up her defence.

MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS IN CHINA.

The uprising of the women of these Islands against political subjection has, notwithstanding their inheritance and the comparative freedom they have enjoyed, seemed a wonderful and a world-stirring event. But what are we to say of the appearance of a militant movement for the vote amongst the women of China? The news of their fight for equal political rights with men, makes the militant suffragists in this country feel very humble, and at the same time very proud; humble because these women with their infinitely greater disadvantages, have shown a political wisdom and a courage which could not be surpassed by women reared in the most advanced western countries; and proud because the action of these Chinese women redounds to the honour and glory of womanhood the whole world over. Having fought with their menfolk to overthrow the tyranny of the Manchus, they are determined that another political tyranny, that of Chinese men over Chinese women, shall not be created in its stead. At this turning point in the life of China, when a Constitution is about to be established, they insist (in the language of deeds as well as of words) that women shall help to guide the nation's destiny, and that the Chinese Constitution shall, where this issue is concerned, be framed on the lines of the free Constitution of Australia and New Zealand, and not in accordance with the unfree Constitution of Great Britain. The women of China are not minded to share the fate of the women of South Africa, who, having borne their share of the terrible sufferings entailed by the Boer War, were defrauded by the Liberal Government of Great Britain of the "equal rights for all whites," given to men under the South African Constitution.

A further word as to the effect produced by the Chinese women's militancy! When we first read in our newspapers a few days ago that the Nankin Assembly has granted the suffrage to all Chinese women on the same terms as men, we rejoiced exceedingly at the news of what appeared to be so glorious a victory. It was not until the women made their protest that our eyes were opened and we knew the truth. The women's protest showed us that the Assembly, instead of giving practical effect to it, have merely made what Reuter describes as a "lukewarm expression of approval of the principle of votes for women." In short, the men, while giving themselves the substance of political power, have offered only the shadow to the women. This offer the women have contemptuously rejected. Where the Woman Suffrage question is concerned, East and West are evidently very near akin.

The following message has been sent: "From the Women's Social and Political Union, to Mrs. Chang, Shanghai:—British Militant Suffragists congratulate Chinese women on brave fight. Wish them success in preventing establishment political liberty for men only. Let Chinese initiate new régime by giving political equality to women, thus setting example whole civilised world."

NEWINGTON SESSIONS.

March 26th, 1912.

When the trials opened at the London Sessions on Tuesday morning last, before Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., and Mr. Allan James Laurie, the court-house presented the appearance of a busy railway station in the height of the holiday season. Most of the women were prepared for imprisonment, and heaps of luggage were piled against the walls, whilst the public hall was packed tightly with the women and their friends, the police witnesses, and the general public. In the street outside crowds of people gathered, and watched the arrivals with the keenest interest.

Before Judge Laurie.

Further cases arising out of the militant actions of suffragists in the early days of March were heard at Newington Sessions on Tuesday last.

Mollie Dowdrey Cohen pleaded guilty to breaking three windows at Messrs. William Hayward and Co.'s (damage £33 and £22). She was bound over for twelve months. She expressed her regret that private reasons necessitated this course. She added that the intelligence of the Government did not understand any other language, so she had to be militant.

Dr. Frances Ede.

Counsel for the prosecution, Mr. Boyd, said this was one of a number of cases that would have to be tried under the Malicious Damage to Property Act of 1861. After reminding the jury that only cases in which the damage exceeded £5 were dealt with at that court, counsel said this lady was one of 126 ladies committed for trial on the charge of committing wilful damage. All the offences were committed either upon March 1 or 4. On those days an enormous amount of damage was done by ladies, and it was common knowledge that they were ladies who were supporters of the women's suffrage movement, who in different parts of London smashed the windows of the premises of tradespeople and others. It would give them some idea of the extent of the damage done upon these two days when he said that in the cases committed to the sessions alone the damage had been estimated by an expert valuation to be over £4,000.

P.C. 534C said he saw the defendant strike the windows of 198, Piccadilly, and 200, Piccadilly, with a hammer at 5.50 on the evening of March 1, breaking the windows. Alfred Firth (clerk at 198, Piccadilly) said he saw the defendant in custody, having gone out on hearing the breaking of glass. George Price (of 200, Piccadilly) said he saw the defendant smashing the show case. William Beaton (glass expert) said the damage to 198, Piccadilly, was £16 10s., and the damage to 200, Piccadilly, was £20.

Dr. Ede said she would first address herself to his lordship and respectfully submit that she was not being tried by a jury of her peers. It needed no demonstration that a jury entirely composed of men must needs see things chiefly from a man's point of view. She had been accused of doing wilful and malicious damage, and she had pleaded not guilty. When a man broke a window to arouse the sleepers of a burning house he was not considered guilty of wilful and malicious damage. There were extenuating circumstances; circumstances did alter cases, and the law allowed it, even in such grave cases as where life had been taken, when a man killed another in self defence. Great provocation was another circumstance that was taken into account. She had had great provocation. For nearly fifty years women had asked those in power to do them right and justice. They had appealed to their reason, their sense of fair play, their chivalry. They had been met with derision and ridicule, with promises which were not kept. They had been tricked endlessly. The mothers of the race, a full half and morally the better half of the people, had been ignored and denied justice. After long patience and after being incited to violence by past and present Cabinet Ministers, the women broke windows. That course had precedent as a means of drawing attention to intolerable injustice. They had taken care that no bodily harm should be done to anybody except themselves. It was the least harmful effective step they could take to show those in power that they were as much in earnest as their forefathers were when they won, but with infinitely greater violence, those rights which Englishmen possess to-day but deny to English women. If men could not understand anything that did not affect themselves or their pockets, the women must appeal to their pockets. They would rather use the vote, the accepted weapon, to draw attention to their grievances, but they were denied that.

And because, having no Vote, women adopted another form of protest, doing a million times less damage to property than the miners had already done, and doing no injury to persons, which they, who did have the Vote, were inflicting on a colossal and still increasing scale—the full legal pound of flesh to be exacted from them, while the miners got prompt attention and concessions from the Gov-

ernment? Should the women always pay, while the man escaped?

She had always been a good citizen, paying rates and taxes, and working for the good of the community. She was fifty-nine years old and that was her first offence, committed under the extenuating circumstances and the provocation that she had already stated. Why did such women go forth and break windows? It was because the laws were unjust to women, and they asked to be allowed to help the sweated workers, the ill-used wife, the ruined girl, and the children. They asked that the woman's point of view might be represented. She was an elderly woman, she was not ignorant of life, and she was a doctor. The House of Commons had last month rejected a Bill which a few righteous men had promoted in the hope of checking the White Slave Traffic.

The supply for this Traffic was taken, by force, by kidnapping, by the most monstrous deceit, by commission of all the sins in the Decalogue, and more—from that half of The People which had not one single Vote amongst them. Women must have the protection of the Vote, and it rested with those in power, to what lengths they would drive women in their struggle for it.

Judge Laurie reminded the jury that what the defendant had said as to the reasons for her action (and she had not denied it) had nothing whatever to do with them in that case or any other case. The question was: Did she wilfully break the windows, and did she do it without lawful excuse? However sincere a person might be (and they knew those ladies were sincere) they had no legal right to break a window without lawful excuse. The only lawful excuse for such an action, as the defendant had said, would be if sleepers were in a burning house and in danger of losing their lives. The only question they had to decide was whether she broke the windows wilfully.

As Dr. Ede refused to be bound over she was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, the judge remarking that he had listened to everything she had said, and could appreciate the point of view which she adopted, but that the law must be obeyed. So long as the law was the law, it must be obeyed for the sake of society.

Other Cases.

Miss Oonah Caillagh, for breaking windows at 43, Piccadilly (damage £6 5s.), was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Florence White, for breaking a window at Messrs. Lockhart's (value £9), was also sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Miss White said she had done this after long consideration, believing that it was only by making the situation intolerable that the Government would give them what she considered an urgent and vital reform.

Miss Brita Gurney, for breaking windows at 59 and 63, Regent Street (total value £30), was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, having been previously convicted. She said that Dr. Ede had voiced her views, and she thought if Cabinet Ministers were more careful what they said it would be a great deal better.

Miss Charlotte Markwick, accused of breaking a window at 158, New Bond Street, was discharged, as she testified on oath that the window was broken when she arrived.

Miss Emma Bowen pleaded guilty to breaking a window at Hudson Brothers, damage £15. On refusing to be bound over she was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Eliza Garrett, for doing damage to the amount of £17, was bound over for twelve months.

Mrs. Grace Cook, for breaking windows at Messrs. Steward and Dawson, 73 to 81, Regent Street (damage £50), was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Mrs. Cook drew the attention of the judge to the fact that she was a political offender, and ought, therefore, to have the rights of a political offender.

Miss Sarah Carwin was the last case to be taken before the adjournment for lunch. The total damage was £99. As she had been previously convicted, she was given a sentence of six months. She said she should like to repudiate the charge that the women were dupes in this matter. She was not the dupe of anyone. What she did was done with the firm conviction that there was need for such action.

Before Mr. Wallace.

Mr. Travers Humphreys, in opening the first case, before Mr. Wallace, said that the 126 women who had been committed for trial were charged with the wanton destruction of property worth £4,000. The damage committed by other women who were dealt with summarily and by others who were unknown amounted to another £8,000. If the proceedings which had been taken in the past were not found sufficient to prevent this wanton destruction of private property, then the Commissioner of Police had considerable powers which he would exercise, and more stringent measures would be taken.

Miss Margaret Haley (damage value £25 in Old Bond Street) protested that she was entitled to be heard by a jury of women. She refused to be bound over. Sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Edith Lane and Miss Dorothy Bowker pleaded "Guilty" to damaging thirteen windows valued at £210 at Swan and Edgar's. Miss Lane was bound over, and Miss Bowker, who declined to be bound over, was ordered four months' imprisonment. Miss Helen Craigie, who was accused with them, was acquitted, no evidence being offered against her.

Miss Grace Mary Branson, nurse, was sentenced to four months for breaking windows, valued at £78 10s., in the Haymarket.

Miss Grace Stuart, artist, who, in December, 1911, was sentenced to two months for wilful damage, and who was now convicted of doing damage to the extent of £14 10s. at Messrs. Boucheron, jewellers, was ordered six months' imprisonment.

Two previous convictions for wilful damage were recorded against Miss Ada Wright. She was sentenced to six months for breaking a window, valued at £9, at the Great Northern Railway collecting office, Grand Hotel Buildings.

Miss Aileen Connor Smith, gardener, was ordered six months' imprisonment for breaking windows worth £38 at William Carrington Smith's, jeweller, Regent Street. She had already served two months in Holloway for her share in the November protest, and was released on February 10.

Mr. George Elliott, K.C., and Mr. Blanco White appeared on behalf of Mrs. Lillian Martha Hicks, accused of damaging windows worth £41 at Cockspar Street. It was admitted that Mrs. Hicks broke another window with which she was not indicted, the value being under £5, but it was denied that she broke those in question. The jury returned a verdict of Not guilty, and she was released.

Mrs. Edith Marion Begbie was sentenced to four months for damage estimated at £23 10s. in the Strand. "I am trying to purify the world," Mrs. Begbie said to the jury, "so that my sons and daughters can go into it."

Miss Alice Farmer, clerk, was sentenced to four months for £18 worth of damage in Piccadilly, and Miss Helen Friedlander, writer, was also sentenced to four months for doing £50 worth of damage.

Miss Kathleen O'Neil was ordered four months for having damaged three windows worth £30 at Messrs. Scott's, hatters, Piccadilly.

Mrs. Emily Duval was sentenced to six months for breaking a window. "We are still undaunted," she said. She had previously stated that on one occasion she was sent to goal for damaging the door at the Prime Minister's house.

(Continued on page 414.)

NEW READERS WANTED!

The First Milestone Passed: Let Us Go On!

Congratulations to all those who have helped to secure this grand total of over 1,000 new subscribers to VOTES FOR WOMEN! It will spur us on to new efforts, for it is imperative that during the imprisonment of our splendid leaders and editors the circulation of the paper should be higher than ever before. Every week letters reach us which show the spirit of our workers. "You may perhaps like to know that I take three dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN weekly. I obtain them from a local bookseller, and sell some and give away the others. I am keeping the money I get by the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN for my Self-denial Card. Last week I sold nearly all my copies the first day, and so I ordered another dozen. I

Previously acknowledged 523
Miss Annings 2
Miss Allen 1
Miss F. M. Byrne 1
Mrs. N. Bridgman 1
Miss S. Barker 1
Mrs. Cecil Chapman 1
Mrs. Channell 1
Miss Eary 1
Frank Fowler, Esq. 1
Miss Ella Inglis 5

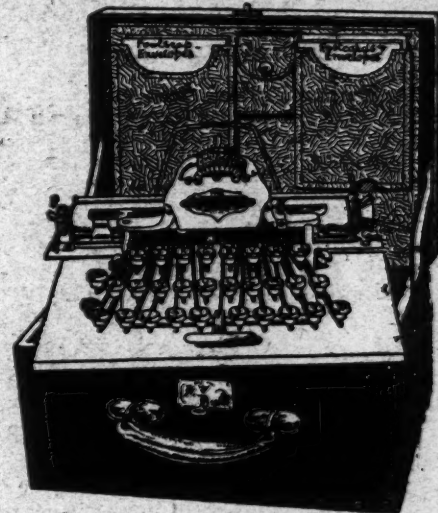
have put the leaflet, 'Broken Windows,' into all my copies this week." This is a grand opportunity for other readers to follow. Another who was prevented from militant action on March 4 writes: "I cannot tell you how thankful I am for our paper. I have ordered several for friends in foreign countries, and am taking six a week for distribution. The paper is worth its weight in gold to those who love freedom and fair play." A Kensington member writes: "My newsagent was sold out, though he had six times his usual quantity. I thought this might prove reassuring to those timorous souls who fear that militant tactics may harm the Cause, and would rather see millions of women oppressed than one unyielding. More power to your elbow!"

New readers who obtain their paper locally, obtained by—
Previously acknowledged 360
Miss M. S. Bennett 1
Miss M. Blithway 1

THE NEW "FEATHERWEIGHT" TYPEWRITER.

Free Trial in Your Own Home.

In the days of our Grand Parents it used to take several days to make the journey from London to Manchester; the undertaking was an ordeal generally prepared for weeks in advance. Could they revisit us just for a moment and see the present-day luxurious arrangements for travelling they would be lost in amazement. Strange and bewildering as it would all be to them, their particular attention would be riveted upon the Lady or Gentleman sitting comfortably in a first-class compartment typing business and private letters on one of the new Aluminium "Featherweight Blick" typewriters which are so rapidly finding their way into the hands of all those who travel and into the boudoirs and libraries of the student and writer.



At one time, to speak of a typewriter invariably conjured up a mental picture of cast metal, which was wheeled into position by a man and a barrow, screwed to a stand, and left there for good. The new Aluminium "Featherweight Blick" has changed all that; people now realise that weight is no criterion of merit. Simplicity means strength in a typewriter, as in any other mechanical article, and simplicity is the keynote in the construction of the "Featherweight Secretary."

Try to think of a bright, compact, little writing machine, weighing just under 5lb., enclosed in a moment in its handsome leather travelling case, fitted with compartments for stationery and supplies, easily carried by a lady, yet able to stand the rough and tumble incidental to a nomadic existence, as so many users, especially war correspondents, can and do testify.

HOW DID IT ORIGINATE? OR NECESSITY'S CHILD.

Let us tell you how the idea of a portable typewriter originated. Like many other ingenious labour-saving devices, it hails from America. Necessity was once again the mother of invention, a portable typewriter being essential, and as no such thing was to be bought, Mr. G. C. Blickensderfer, an accomplished inventor, had either to make one or do without. He made one. That was seventeen years ago. The new Aluminium "Featherweight Blick" just placed upon the market is the crowning result of his progress year by year.

IN THE STUDY AND BOUDOIR.

Rapidly both the business man and society ladies are realising the value and advantage of the writing machine in the home. You can use several styles of type on the same machine. Two are supplied with it; they can be changed in a moment. A good, bold Roman character for business letters, or can you imagine anything nicer than this script for writing to one's friends?

Dear Jack,

I have invested in a Featherweight "Blick" it is simply perfect.

To Naval and Military officers the "Featherweight Blick" specially appeals. There is no room on the modern destroyer or torpedo-boat for the old cumbersome writing machine, while its "mobility" is specially prized in the sister service.

FREE TRIAL IN YOUR OWN HOME.

The "Blick" is the favourite of the author and writer. Thousands of Clergy use it daily, and Doctors find it invaluable. Think for a moment what a helper and time saver it can be to you in your correspondence. Difficult to learn? Not at all. It can be mastered in half an hour, and the speed of the pen superseded with two hours' practice. Send for special booklet, No. 133, giving particulars of its construction; or, better still, ask the Blick Co., Ltd., 9 and 10, Cheapside, London, E.C., or 369, Oxford Street, W., to send you a machine, carriage paid, for a free trial in your own home. You are under no expense or obligation to purchase. Just one word more. The Blick is not an experiment, it has a reputation of twenty years, and over 150,000 satisfied users.

A sentence of six months was also passed on Miss Evelyn Huddleston for doing £36 worth of damage at Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver's, Regent Street. She had been already convicted.

Miss Norah Kathleen Lackey, convicted of doing damage in Regent Street, was sentenced to four months. Similar sentences were passed on Miss Charlotte Downing, a nurse, for damage at Messrs. Tiffany's, Regent Street; on Miss Violet Aitken and Miss Clara Givern, tutor, for damaging twelve windows, worth £100, at Messrs. Jay's (Limited), Regent Street, and on Miss Emily Fern for breaking two windows worth £18.

Miss Alice Lillie Durham was found Not guilty of having damaged three windows, worth £25, belonging to Messrs. B. Burnett and Co. Miss Olive Wharry and Miss Isabella Potbury, students, were each ordered six months for breaking ten windows, worth £195, at the premises of Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver, Regent Street. Miss Wharry had been once previously sent to prison for two months and Miss Potbury had undergone two such terms.

Miss Bertha Ryland, who had been previously convicted, was sentenced to six months for breaking a window worth £8, the property of Philip Morris and Co. (Limited), cigar merchants, New Bond Street, W. Miss Ryland enquired whether she would be treated under the new prison rules. The judge replied that he did not know; he had merely to pass the sentence of imprisonment. She would not be in the second division, but would be treated not quite in the same way as hard labour prisoners.

Miss Maud Smith, for damage to the extent of £68 7s. in Old Bond Street, and Miss Winifred Bray, musician, for causing damage to the extent of £70 10s. in Regent Street, were sentenced to four months each.

The judge then addressed the jury, who found Miss Smith guilty. She refused to be bound over and was therefore sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

A Protest Against the Government.

Miss Winifred Bray, charged with malicious damage to the extent of £37 10s., said that she did not break more than three of the windows—she did not wish to deny that she had broken three. She considered herself quite justified in taking part in the protest, because the present political position of women was very serious. Here was a protest against the Government's iniquitous action in proposing to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill and refusing to give votes to women.

The judge then addressed the jury, who found Miss Bray guilty. She refused to be bound over, saying that as constitutional methods had been tried for over forty years without success she must reserve her right of judgment. The judge then said that she left him no alternative but to send her to prison for four months.

Miss Janette Green, having been previously convicted, was ordered six months for breaking five windows, worth £49 10s., in Regent Street.

Miss Florence Ward received four months for damage estimated at £12 10s. at the shop of Walter Truefitt, New Bond Street.

Miss Rosa Leo, singer, was found "Not guilty" of damaging four windows belonging to Ernest Drew and Co., and was discharged.

Miss Charlotte Blacklock was indicted for having damaged a window at the premises of Charles Lynton, Piccadilly. For the prosecution the glass was valued at £6 15s.; for the defence it was argued that the damages amounted to less than £6. The jury found her guilty, and she was ordered four months.

Miss Kitty Marion, actress, was sentenced to six months for having broken windows at the premises of the Jewellers' and Silversmiths' Association and Messrs. Sainsbury and Co., Regent Street. Miss Marion said that she wanted the vote so that the country could be made civilised and Christian, and for the protection of women and children.

The women were removed to Holloway Gaol and thence to Aylesbury Prison by a motor-omnibus service which had been arranged for the purpose.

An Eloquent Defence.

In defending Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Elliott made a vigorous and moving speech.

"For thirty years," he said, "I have addressed this court, but never have I felt such a sense of embarrassment as on this occasion. I have seen every description of accused person in this dock, but never before occupants of the class and degree of culture we are witnessing to-day, and I am quite sure, whether in the jury box or on the bench, or at the bar which I represent, there can be but one feeling so far as those ladies are concerned, apart, of course, from the actual act committed, a feeling of admiration for their earnest purpose and sublime sincerity, which we as men might envy. Nor can I say that their sincerity and courage are worthy of a better cause, for theirs is the noblest and most profound that has ever gained public attention.

"The acts themselves I am bound to condemn as breaches of law, for which there is no mitigation, but I venture to say that every word said by these women must go deep into the heart of every thinking and sentient man to-day. How many of us would endure what they are enduring for our principles?"

SUMMARY OF THE SENTENCES.

March 26.

Six months—Grace Stuart, Ada Wright, Aileen O'Connor Smith, Brita Gurney, Mrs. Emily Duval, Evelyn Huddleston, Sarah Carwin, Bertha Ryland, Olive Wharry, Isabella Potbury, Kitty Marion, and Janette Green.

Four months—Dorothy Bowker, Grace Mary Branson, Margaret Haley, Edith Boggie, Alice Farmer, Dr. Frances Ede, Oonah Caillagh, Florence White, Emma Bowen, Helen Friedlander, Kathleen O'Kell, Grace Cook, Louise Archibald, Constance Bryer, Norah Kathleen Lackey, Caroline Downing, Violet Aitken, Clara Givern, Emily Fern, Maud Smith, Winifred Bray, Florence Wood, and Charlotte Blacklock.

Bound over—Barbara Ayrton Gould, Lal Forsyth, Edith Lane, Elizabeth Young, Margaret Wilson, Annie Baker, and Dorothy Benson.

Discharged—Helen Craggs, Lilian Martha Hicks, Charlotte Markwick, Alice Durham, Rosa Leo.

Sentence postponed—Catherine Lane.

March 27 (morning).

Six months—Hope Jones, Edith Downing, Mary Anne Mitchell Aldham.

Four months—Annie Humphreys, Elsie Howey, Catherine Swaine, Margaret Wallis, Helen Mackay, Maggie Macfarlane, Gladys Mary Hazel.

Bound over—Edith Jacobs, Mary Morrison, Ena Shallard, Lilian Freeth, Alice Monck Mason (against her will).

Discharged—Amy Winter.

Eight months—Ellison Gibb.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS.

We had intended to publish a list giving the dates on which prisoners would be released, but owing to the refusal of the prison authorities to give the necessary information to anybody but the relatives of those imprisoned, we find it impossible to ensure the accuracy of such a list.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, March 21, Mr. Oliver Locker-Lampson asked whether convicted suffragette prisoners are receiving different treatment in Holloway Prison and better attention than ordinary prisoners confined for similar offences; and, if so, whether this difference in treatment has received his sanction?

Mr. McKenna: Suffragette prisoners convicted summarily and sentenced to imprisonment in the second or third divisions are receiving the modified treatment specified in Rule 243a. Those convicted on indictment whose offences are more serious, and those sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour, are being treated under the ordinary rules, with some slight modifications in their favour in the matter of prison clothes and bathing which I have authorised.

SYNDICALISTS AND SUFFRAGETTES.

When I contrast the treatment of the ladies with that of the colliers, I am bound to say that hard measure has been dealt out to the ladies. The women have struck (at tradesmen's windows) because they think they ought to have votes. The miners have struck (at the national food, light, and fuel) because they think that they ought to have higher wages. The women have caused hundreds of pounds of damage; the miners have caused millions of pounds of damage. The women have been sentenced to two months', four months', and six months' imprisonment with hard labour. The miners have had the Prime Minister, accompanied by Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Buxton, and the professional settler, Sir George Asquith, running frantically to and fro between them and their employers in order to induce the latter to grant their demands. If we weigh the damage, moral, intellectual, or physical, done by the suffragettes against that done by the syndicalists, the ladies' scale flies up and kicks the beam. Yet the suffragettes are cast into gaol as common criminals, while the syndicalists have the Government grovelling at their feet. Is not the spectacle rather a disgusting one, and such as will cause our dear neighbours to point the finger of scorn? Is not the moral a very dangerous one—namely, that if you have votes Prime Ministers will be your errand boy, and if you have no votes police magistrates will lecture and imprison you? What inference will those women who are capable of reasoning draw from these facts? Why, that it is more than ever necessary for them to get votes; for to him that hath a vote shall be given, and from him that hath not a vote shall be taken even that which he hath—namely, personal liberty.—*Truth.*

THE COMPLETE RIOTER.

In these days, when members of Parliament with one accord uplift their voices and express their pained surprise at manifestations of a turbulent spirit among the voters and would-be voters in the country, it is refreshing to turn to the life of an illustrious statesman and read how that spirit was shown when the last great Reform Bill was before the country. In Mr. Winston Churchill's life of his father—Lord Randolph Churchill—we find a vivid account of the famous Aston Riots of 1884 (Vol. I, p. 360). We may abbreviate as follows:—

To mark and proclaim the newly compacted alliance within the Conservative Party, we read, Sir Stafford Northcote came during the autumn recess to speak in Lord Randolph's support at Birmingham. Aston Park, in the same neighbourhood, had been secured on October 13, by the Conservatives for a counter-demonstration, which was to open a week of campaigning throughout the district. Besides Sir Stafford and Lord Randolph Churchill, many other members of Parliament and candidates were to address the concourse at five simultaneous political meetings, and the well-known attractions of the Park and of the orators were to be strengthened by bands of music and a fireworks display.

The Radicals of Birmingham were much offended at these arrangements naturally, which, they declared, were an attempt to misrepresent the true feeling of the city by importing demonstrators from the outside in order to circumvent the promoters of the "packed" meetings, they determined to attend them in full power. Admission to Aston Park was by ticket. It was stated that 120,000 tickets would be issued to those who applied for them. Everyone applied. Trade Union secretaries, great Liberal manufacturers, officials of the Radical organisations, applied for, in some cases, as many as 800 at a time. The promoters of the demonstration became alarmed; and as it was clear—and even avowed—that the Radicals would attend in force and spoil the effect, the issue of tickets was stopped and the applications were refused. Elaborate, formidable, and, as it proved, thoroughly effective measures were thereupon adopted to enable the voice of Birmingham to be heard. It became known that large numbers of tickets were being forged. Of course, it was afterwards pointed out, no one in authority in the Liberal Party lent any countenance to such proceedings. A counter-demonstration was arranged by a few working men, who fixed their place of meeting just outside Aston Park and called upon the men of Birmingham to get admittance to the Tory meeting if possible.

The Riot.

The counter-demonstration was estimated at 15,000 strong; the members of it began at once by conveniently placed ladders and wagons to scale the wall; eventually the wall was broken down and the excited crowds poured through. A riot ensued, the meetings were broken up, the speakers, including Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Randolph Churchill, were roughly handled and driven off.

No persons were actually killed in them, but not a few were seriously injured, and hundreds carried away scars and bruises from the fray.

The indignation caused among the Conservatives of Birmingham, and indeed throughout the country, by these events was fierce and bitter. Lord Randolph Churchill turned to the fullest advantage the blunder into which his adversaries had been drawn. He made every endeavour to fix the responsibility for the disorders upon Mr. Chamberlain.

In the House.

So soon as Parliament met, a week later, for the winter session, the author continues, Lord Randolph placed upon the paper an amendment to the Address, taking the form of a vote of censure on Mr. Chamberlain for speeches which encouraged interference with freedom of discussion and incited to riot and disorder. The debate was heralded for several days by much preliminary snarling. Mr. Chamberlain, irritated by constant cross-questioning, referred to Sir Henry Wolf as Lord Randolph Churchill's "jackal." "With his usual insolence," observed Sir Henry Wolf, in reply; and, on being rebuked by the Speaker, he substituted "with his usual courtesy." Mr. Chaplin enquired whether the President of

the Local Government Board would not proceed to describe his opponents as "hyenas"; and Lord Randolph Churchill, availing himself of the Speaker's ruling that the word "jackal," if looked upon as a figurative expression, was not out of order, proceeded to state that at the earliest possible opportunity he would move his amendment and "draw the badger."

This occasion was provided on October 30, and led to a singularly unpleasant debate. Lord Randolph Churchill quoted numerous extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's speeches. He asserted that no Minister of the Crown had ever used such language and that Irish Members had been committed to prison for language much less strong. He declared that Mr. Chamberlain knew beforehand of the counter-demonstration and of what it was intended to effect, and that he might easily have prevented the riot had he chosen to do so.

The Defence.

Mr. Chamberlain exerted himself greatly, and not unsuccessfully, in replying. He in his turn was able to discover in Lord Randolph Churchill's speeches some traces of violent language. He flatly denied that he had had any personal complicity in the riot, which, he explained, had arisen solely from the mismanagement of the Tory organisation and from their attempt to give their meeting the character of a national demonstration. But the most effective part of his speech consisted in a number of affidavits of roughs, said to have been engaged by the Secretary of the Conservative Association to turn out Liberals from the meeting, whose violence it was alleged had provoked the outbreak. When he sat down he had in great measure stemmed the tide, and upon the division Lord Randolph's amendment was defeated by 214 to 178. "The majority," observes the Annual Register, "exonerating Mr. Chamberlain from any blame worthy act was far smaller than a member of the Cabinet commanding the confidence and sympathy of his supporters had a right to expect."

MR. URE'S VIEWS.

A belated report of a deputation of the W.S.P.U. received by the Lord Advocate on March 16, at 9, Parliament Square, has reached us. The Deputation, which was introduced by Mr. Angus Livingstone (Bo'ness), consisted of Miss Murray, Hon. Sec., Bo'ness W.S.P.U., Miss Easton (Bo'ness), and Miss Lucy Burns, B.A. (Edinburgh). After brief speeches by the members of the Deputation, Mr. Ure said that as far as he personally was concerned the members of the Deputation were forcing an open door. He had always been in favour of Woman's Suffrage; and the recent militant "outbreaks" had made no change in his views. He must say that they had affected the views of a number of his colleagues in the House, so far as he could gather from conversation with them. He, however, had stated to his colleagues that women had not brought more passion and sentiment into their demand than men had done, or would do, under the same circumstances. It was not a question of sex at all. He agreed with Lord Morley that a repression of disorder without accompanying reform was the negation of statesmanship. In the course of the interview he admitted that the policy of concentrating attack on the Government, as the only body powerful enough to introduce and carry a Women's Suffrage measure, was "perfectly legitimate." The women's objective should be to induce the Suffrage majority in the Cabinet to prevail upon the minority to deal with this question, only in that case, they must remember that Mr. Asquith would probably resign; and Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane and Mr. George would not remain in the Government without him. An appeal to the country must follow the resignation of the Premier. If the Women's Social and Political Union were unwilling to work for an amendment to the Reform Bill (and apparently they were not), they must work upon the Suffrage element in the Cabinet, and take the risk of an appeal to the country. He himself would stand by them "through thick and thin."

When asked by a member of the Deputation if his advice, in sum, was not that they should go on fighting, Mr. Ure said, "By all means!" "By continuing militant action?" said the questioner. Mr. Ure said that that was not for him to decide; women must choose the methods that seemed best to them.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

PUBLIC MEETING, LARGE ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND.

Friday, March 29, 8 p.m.

To Discuss Result of Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill.

Speakers: Mrs. DESPARD,
Mrs. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Miss ALISON NIELANDS.

Dr. G. B. CLARK (ex-M.P. for Cathness),
Miss ANNA MUNRO,
Chair: Miss NINA BOYLE.

Reserved Seats, 1s. and 6d.

Admission Free to Women.

WELCOME AND AU REVOIR.

Monday afternoon's meeting at the London Pavilion was of exceptional interest. It took the form of a welcome to Mrs. Brackenbury and Miss Georgina Brackenbury, who were released from Holloway on Friday last, and was also a meeting of farewell to the women committed for trial at the sessions. Mrs. Brailsford was in the chair, and in referring to the women who would come up for trial on the morrow, said: "These women had pluck and courage, and had the sense of the future, defying the verdict of contemporary idiots, to face the verdict of history, which had always been on the side of the reformers. She appealed to the strangers in the audience who found themselves face to face with this question, to bring to it their best brains and their holiest and highest thoughts. Let them ask themselves what sort of a cause this was and what kind of women were these. It was not necessary to say one word to hearten those brave comrades who would soon be in prison, but she would remind them that no matter what sentences were imposed upon them they would never be absent from their comrades' thoughts or hopes."

She then called on Mrs. Brackenbury, who was enthusiastically cheered—the audience standing to do her honour. In the course of her speech, Mrs. Brackenbury, who is over seventy years of age, said she did not want to dwell on prison or on what she had suffered. The little she did she did willingly and gladly, but she would like to say why it was that she had done such an apparently ridiculous thing as breaking two little panes of glass, value 8s. She did not want to give the audience a story of her life in three volumes, but it was during her childhood in Canada that she first heard of the wrongs of the factory child—children who had to work all day and had no joy in their lives. When she asked what could be done, the answer was, "Nothing, you are only a child." Then later on in her girlhood, she was face to face with the wrongs of the slave, but again she was told nothing could be done, she was only a girl. She then married and came to England, where she learnt of the awful depths of vice, degradation, starvation and ignorance in which women and children existed. That was why she had joined the Women's Social and Political Union, and why she broke two windows in Whitehall. In referring to the sentence imposed upon her (fourteen days) she reminded her audience that a working woman who had only broken a window valued at 3s. had been given two months' hard labour, a difference against which Mrs. Brackenbury protested when in the dock, but without avail. What she had done and given to the cause she had given as her "widow's mite."

Miss Georgina Brackenbury said that she had a very narrow escape on the night of March 4, but if she had been choked out of existence then she would still have been present in spirit, though not in body. In describing the insanitary, damp and cold cell into which Mrs. Pankhurst was put for two days, Miss Brackenbury said there were cockroaches and every other kind of abomination in it.

The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield made a special appeal for paper sellers.

Lady Isabel Margesson said she felt she had no right to be on the platform because she had never shown by her action that she was willing to suffer. But on behalf of those in the audience who were in the same position as herself, she would thank those brave women who had given all that they had; they were the women who had brought this question into the realm of practical politics. Some people said with regard to militant methods that such actions were useless, and that women must be reasonable, "but," said Lady Margesson, "what is reasonable is not political; though I am sorry to say it of this great country of ours, yet we women see it every day. Unless we act politically we shall never reach a political end." Women in the past did not understand this, but owing to Miss Pankhurst's wonderful genius they had found it out. Women had been "jawing" to politicians for over forty years, but they were tired of talking; they meant to have their grievances redressed.

AT STEINWAY HALL.

The Thursday evening meeting at the Steinway Hall was presided over by the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, supported by Mrs. Mansel. The hall was again crowded, and a large number of strangers were present.

Mrs. Haverfield, in showing how women needed protection, took for her points the sweating of women and children, the White Slave Traffic and kindred evils. In dealing with the former, she read several extracts from "The Soul Market," which gave a graphic picture of the way in which women engaged in the artificial flower trade and in other sweated trades lived and worked. This was one of the greatest reasons why women in happy circumstances should come out and try to stop this kind of thing by helping women get the vote.

Mrs. Mansel described her personal experience of the attitude of the working man towards woman suffrage: he realised that sweating and other evils affected his own sisters and daughters more closely

than anyone else, and he realised and understood something of what the vote for women would mean. The present industrial crisis helped the working man to understand a little of the difficulties of the women's fight.

NURSE PITFIELD.

In last week's issue we had space to report very briefly the case of Nurse Pitfield, which came before the Central Criminal Court on Wednesday. Nurse Pitfield's many friends will be grieved to read the account given by Mr. Blanco White of Nurse Pitfield's illness and its origin.

Nurse Pitfield was charged with setting fire to a basket containing shaving saturated with paraffin in the General Post Office on March 3. When called upon to plead she replied:—"I am guilty of the action; but the Cabinet—it rests with them, they are the guilty parties."

Mr. Forster Boulton prosecuted for the Post Office; Mr. G. R. Blanco White appeared for Nurse Pitfield.

Mr. Justice Horridge intimated that he had the facts, and Mr. White addressed the Court for the prisoner. Her case, he said, was tragic. She was a registered midwife, and became interested in the movement for woman suffrage.

Mr. Justice Horridge said he saw that the prisoner had already had a sentence of two months' imprisonment at Bow Street in December, 1910, for damage, and one other summary conviction for damage.

Mr. White, continuing, said that in November, 1910, she took part in a demonstration in the course of which she received a blow and cancer had resulted. She had been operated upon twice, but she was incurable, and also gravely ill. The learned judge knew that an invalid was more susceptible to excitement than a person in ordinary health, and also that in this movement there was a great deal of feeling and of excitement.

Mr. Justice Horridge.—Sitting here as a judge I cannot recognise any suggestion of that kind as being a mitigation of a criminal offence.

Mr. White pointed out that the state of the prisoner's mind, owing to her grave and incurable illness, might account for the serious nature of the offence. It was quite clear that she had no intention of burning down the building. Her main object was to create a stir, for directly after she set fire to the basket of shavings she threw a brick through a window. From this it was evident that she did not intend the fire to go on. At any rate there was no fear of her being guilty of such an offence again, however much she might like to do it. She came to the Court from her bed, and there was no chance of her being able to leave it again. Counsel added that the prisoner committed the act honestly.

Mr. Justice Horridge.—I cannot believe that people who commit these offences do not know that they are doing what is wicked and wrong, though they may do it for an indirect purpose.

Dr. Forwood, medical officer of Holloway, was called on behalf of Nurse Pitfield, and gave evidence that she was suffering from cancer.

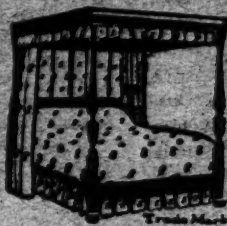
Mr. Justice Horridge, addressing the prisoner, said that in the way he was going to deal with the case he was not taking into consideration her motive, because she must have known perfectly well that what she was doing was an extremely wicked, criminal act. If her health had been different it would have been his duty to treat the case in the same way as that of any other criminal. But her case was a very sad one, and in the state of health in which she was it would be wrong to sentence her to hard labour. He should sentence her to six months' imprisonment in the second division, where she would have every care.

Nurse Pitfield, on leaving the dock, in which she was attended by a nurse, exclaimed:—"I suffer for the freedom of all women."

PRISONERS' HAMPER.

Mrs. Seaman writes from Berlin, "Having seen from our paper that you are good enough to take subscriptions for provisions for our brave prisoners who are doing so much for us, I am sending 12s. collected from friends here who want to send a small token of gratitude." Another friend sends Anon. the price of a theatre ticket. In last week's list Mrs. Thompson should have read Miss Elizabeth Thompson.

Mrs. Littlejohn gratefully acknowledges cake and jam from Miss Durnford and Miss Hutchinson, and subscriptions from: Mrs. Tucker, 5s.; Miss Elizabeth Redfern, 5s.; Miss M. E. Britton, 5s.; Miss Beatrice Whyte, 5s.; Miss D. E. Watkins, 5s.; Miss Ritchie, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Napier, 1s.; Miss E. L. Andrews, 5s.; Miss A. Newton, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Douglas Pryce, 5s.; Miss E. Tak van Poorbolin, 2s.; E. D. "Orton" 10s.; "For Martyrs in Holloway. Suffering for Justice Sake," W. E. H., 1s.; D. C. S., 1s.; Mrs. Sloane, 1s. 1s.; "Dick" Leeds, 2s. 6d.; Miss Edith Carrie, 10s.; Glasgow Members, per Miss Underwood, 10s.; Miss N. Johnson, 2s.; Mrs. F. M. Lunn, 10s.; Mrs. Littlejohn, 3s.; "Friends in Berlin," per Mrs. Seaman, 12s.; Miss Mary Downing, 1s.; Miss Gordon, 1s.

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WOMEN IN COURTS OF JUSTICE.

It has happened again and again that women have been asked to leave a court when another woman is being tried. This means that the prisoner is convicted and sentenced by men and has not even the comforting presence of one of her own sex. A typical instance occurred at the West London police court recently. A lady who happened to be present was asked to leave when a charge was heard against another woman for disorderly conduct. To this she demurred, whereupon the magistrate observed that it was not decent for her to remain if she was respectable. Later on he explained his reasons, and when the lady pointed out that men were allowed to remain and that women were equally interested in social conditions he refused to discuss the matter.

In these days, when women are standing shoulder to shoulder, it is important to insist on their right to befriend a woman prisoner, at least by their presence, and the following statement of the legal aspect of the question sent to us by a solicitor will serve to point out the way in which women may act. Briefly put, a woman has exactly the same right to hear any case as a man, and can only be legally excluded if the whole public, men and women, are excluded. The law is laid down in "Halsbury's Laws of England under Criminal Law and Procedure," Vol. 9, page 362-705:—

"As a general rule all persons have a right to be present in Court provided there is sufficient accommodation and there is no disturbance of the proceedings. It is usual where cases involving indecent details are called on to direct females and boys to leave the Court, but if an adult woman should insist on being present at the hearing of a case there is probably no power to prevent her being present."

"It is expressly provided by statute (Children's Act, 1908, 15, Edw. 7, 667, sec. 114) that, when a person who in the opinion of the Court is under sixteen is called as a witness in any proceedings in relation to an offence against or any conduct contrary to decency or morality the Court may order the exclusion of all persons not being members or officers of the Court or parties, the Counsel or Solicitors and the bona fide representatives of a newspaper or news agency."

Except in the cases above referred to and in the case of children under fourteen and in cases under the Incest Act, 1908 (all proceedings under the Prevention of Incest Act, 1908, are held in camera). "It does not appear that a judge trying a criminal case has any power to exclude the

public in general and to hear a case in camera."

The same rules apply in civil cases. The term "in camera" means that the general public is excluded. Women are often asked to leave the court, but there is no right to turn them out and not men, nor has the judge or magistrate any "discretion" about the matter at all.

With respect to the proper action a woman should take if turned out, our correspondent says she can either refuse to go or can appeal to a higher court. As refusal to go will probably involve forcible removal, the better plan is to bring the matter before any Court of Appeal, which ought to hear the appeal at once, as it is connected with the right of a subject.

If the Court of Appeal is sitting, notice of the application should be given to the clerk or registrar of the Court that the matter is urgent, and one affecting the rights of a subject. The Court would then probably interrupt its business and hear the appeal. If that appeal does not succeed, a woman should proceed in the same way at a higher court against that, and so on till she reaches the House of Lords.

Of course, the Courts of various appeals involved might render the remedy unsatisfactory.

I.L.P. CONFERENCE.

The I.L.P. conference is to be held at Merthyr on Easter Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, and on the Saturday evening before Easter a demonstration calling upon the Government to carry a measure giving votes to women on the same terms as men will be held in the Olympia Rink at seven o'clock. The chair will be taken by Mr. Keir Hardie, and the speakers will be Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Drummond, and Miss Barrett. The organiser will be glad to hear from any South Wales members who can give a few days to helping to advertise the meeting, or who can come over to Merthyr on the evening to steward and sell papers. Offers of help should be sent to Miss Barrett, 93, Ninian Road, Cardiff.

Willesden Labour Party have enthusiastically passed the following resolution that: "This meeting is of opinion that coercion is no remedy for injustice, and calls upon the Government and the members of the House of Commons to place upon the Statute book without delay a measure for the enfranchisement of Women, so as to give the womanhood of the country their just rights as citizens." Copies were sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Ramsey MacDonald.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

Every day that has passed since the outrages of the militant suffragists has brought us a number of letters, some justifying them, some faintly apologising, some suggesting means of opposing their policy and practice, and some looking forward to the coming discussions in the House of Commons. It is, indeed, evident that, in spite of the pressure of an even graver question, public feeling has been thoroughly roused by the recent proceedings in the West End. Till lately the great mass of men and women in this country, of whatever class, have not taken the suffrage question seriously, and have never attempted to reason it out for themselves. Reason, as any philosopher will tell us, plays a comparatively small part in human affairs, and mankind are commonly guided by one or other of two quite different guides, instinct and sentiment. Instinct is generally in favour of the status quo; sentiment, which is conscious of evils and flies to the first remedy that offers, is generally in favour of plausible reforms, especially if cloaked under fine names, like that of justice. But a civilised society asks for other guides than either of these in its search for a solution of the problems which harass it. It should rest neither upon an instinct that cannot give a why and a wherefore, nor upon a sentiment which would cure a minor evil by the infliction of a greater. In other words, when we have to deal with a public question of high importance and some complexity, we want to get at the reason of the matter, at the solid arguments based upon experience, natural aptitudes, and public utility, by which one side is supported and the other overthrown. This is what the Anti-Suffrage League, on behalf of which Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale have recently made an appeal in our columns, sets out to do, and has done with much success for several years past, with regard to the claim put forward by certain women for the Parliamentary franchise.

From what quarter are we to learn the truth about militant tactics if not from the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, the paper called *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, published at 4, Clement's Inn? In last week's number of that paper there is abundant denunciation of "The Deserters"—Sir William Byles and others who have been driven by the window-breakers into abandoning their support of Woman Suffrage Bills for the present—and special praise for Mr. Agg-Gardner, the introducer of the Conciliation Bill. He, says the paper, "refuses to go back on his principles." Again, another and very common fallacious statement is . . . that "the militants are a very small fraction of the whole suffragist forces, and to suggest the contrary is a method of controversy which might well be left to those whose minds are blinded by sex-prejudice." Again, we reply that no distinction has ever yet been drawn between the militants and the W.S.P.U., which directs their action and provides their funds. Now, though it is difficult to discover how many members or how many branches this union possesses, the annual reports publish a list of subscribers. These in 1910 came to about 5,000; in 1911, to about 6,000; the report for the present year is not yet issued. Five, six, or seven thousand is not "a very small fraction." It is true that some of the subscribers may not be very clear as to how their money is used, and that when outrages happen they are shocked and write regretful letters to the shopkeepers. Such, as Mrs. Moberly Bell has pointed out, appears to have been the case with ladies like Mrs. D. A. Thomas, who gave £157, Lady Meyer, who gave £11, and Lady Willoughby de Broke, who gave 10s. 6d., and then signed a letter of sympathy to the tradesmen who had suffered at the hands of women sent out by the very union to whose funds these eminent ladies had contributed.—*Times*, March 22.

"Cristabel Pankhurst has not yet been tracked."—*Egyptian Gazette*.
You see, the Government is not so brutal as some women make out.—*Punch*.

It is reported that since the publication of the suffragette secret code every Cabinet Minister has bought a guide to the language of flowers.—*The Rialto*.

It has been said that the recent happenings in London had the effect of alienating the sympathies of many who had previously been favourably disposed towards the cause of the admission of women to the suffrage. They ought not to have this effect. After all, it was only a section of the women who were guilty of adopting a means of calling attention to the question that not many will care to defend. The conduct of the few does not affect the principle, and all should not be penalised for this action. If it is right to call upon women to pay rates and taxes, then they ought to have a voice in the im-

position of those burdens. There should be no taxation, even of women, without representation. We have passed the day when educated ladies are to be treated as children, unable to understand and to assume the responsibilities of life.—*The Evening Telegraph and Post* (Dundee), March 18.

The physical-force suffragettes have alienated an immense amount of public sympathy by their window-breaking tactics, especially when innocent and unoffending shopkeepers are the victims. But their movement will never be settled unless attention is given to their case, or a policy of stern and unbending repression is pursued. The Government takes neither one course nor the other, which is only to be expected when the Cabinet is a House divided against itself, and the result is uproar and disturbance.—*Hull Daily Mail*.

We notice that the Government has now done in the case of the Suffragist terrorists what we urged it to do in the case of the Ulster Unionist terrorists. It has arrested the ringleaders, who have been delivering the most violent incitements to disorder and riot. Such a step may bring notoriety and the martyr's crown to those arrested, but it will bring ruin to their cause.—*Ulster Guardian*.

Two phenomena are drawing the eyes of the world toward Great Britain, the strike of the coal miners and the riotings of the suffragettes in London. So far as justice is concerned, the women of England have a far more just cause than the miners. The hardships and tyrannies under which they suffer are written down in the law books of the land. The question of suffrage in England and the question of suffrage in the United States are two very different matters. In the United States the granting of suffrage will amount to the gratification of a woman's whim, and will give no new privileges beyond the pleasure of putting a slip of paper into a box. In Great Britain the advent of women's suffrage will open the way to the righting of almost numberless wrongs. One cannot blame British women even for rioting. Yet a nationwide strike unquestionably would be much more effective.—*Detroit Free Press*, March 4.

Men who are so ready to indulge in intemperate language seem to have forgotten that reformers and rebels of their own sex first set the example of lawlessness, and that present-day Cabinet Ministers have gone to prison cheerfully for the opinions they were not ashamed or afraid to avow. I think, too, that it is unspeakably mean of women to criticise and censure the efforts of a noble band of their sister-women who are sacrificing so much—how much the world knows little and cares less—in their endeavour to better the conditions, the cramped, fettered, crippled, miserably-sad conditions, under which so many women suffer in silence.—"Lily" in *Modern Society*, March 23.

SETTING BACK YE SUN DIAL.

(From an old M.S. found after the earthquake at 4, Clement's Inn.)

'Tis sore bemoaned of every good and gentle citizen that certain hot and graceless Earls, Barons, and e'en Prelates of Holy Church, on whose souls God ha' mercy! have struck an ill blow at ye liberties of Engelande, quihilk, sooth for to say, were safe enow in ye keeping of our lord, good Kyng John. Of his mercy, I wist, had the Kyng pledged himself by holy Rood to remove all grievances aforesaid in ye dim and distant future. Unwilling to hide a day and thirsting for idle fame, these naughty wights did don their kirtles of mail and eke their breastplates—doubtless on ye false pretence of feeling cold though 'twere the spring of the yeere—and verily by force did constraine ye Kyng to sign some script as yet unread by this poure clerk. Not in this wise were ye liberties of Engelande whilom fought and won, and everychon must bewaile ye hasty deed of a hondfulle of silly knaves quihilk in no wise speke for ye greute and pecefulle people of this our dere londe. Away with sic traitors to ye racke and donjon!

Ye Bunnymede Chronicle,

In ye yeare of Grace 1216.

For the reason that the new ls. deferred shares of the Underground Railways Company carry no votes, they have been nicknamed by the dealers "Suffragettes."—*Electrical Times and Lightning*.

THE KING AND SUFFRAGISTS.

The *Nursing Times*, in reporting the visit of the King and Queen to Guy's Hospital recently, says "The King was much amused by the wooden bars cutting off the night nurses' quarters, and inquired whether any of the nurses were militant suffragists. Upon receiving a reply from the matron to the effect that there were several very keen suffragists at Guy's the King laughed very heartily, and expressed the hope that they would not go smashing any windows."



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WHITELEYS
QUEEN'S ROAD, LONDON, W

THE CHURCH AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

In America, as in England, the Church as a whole is suspicious of the woman's movement. That, perhaps, is not surprising in the light of Church history. The Church has often been a laggard in social reform. Too frequently she has thrown the weight of her influence in the scale against every movement—in its early stages—which had for its object the uplift of humanity. In the struggle for the abolition of slavery, in the reaction against intemperance, in the fight of the agricultural labourer for freedom, in the demand of the people in our own time for a fairer share of the wealth they help to create, the Church has ever been on the side of privilege. Not until the pioneer work has become safe and easy has the Church as a whole come into line. So in this struggle for the emancipation of woman we are not surprised to find no general ally in the Church. Some time ago a writer on this subject in the *Church Times* described the movement as "Anti-Christian," and said, "Women are apt to divide into two classes, the nice women and the political women, and I fear it would not be the nice women who would influence legislation in case women became voters." To those women who have been forced into this movement by the compelling constraint of their deepest religious convictions, this attitude of the Church has brought consternation and dismay. If the men in the Churches knew and understood the tragedies which blight and blast the lives of numbers of young girls who are broken on the wheel of our modern industrial conditions, they would bid the woman's movement God-speed, for in the main they are good and chivalrous men. They do not understand. Too often the crown of womanhood is but a crown of thorns; and to raise the status of women in the eyes of the young men in our country by admitting them into the privileges and duties of citizenship may be the first step towards that new time for which we are looking when humanity shall be acknowledged to be a greater, deeper, more fundamental thing than sex.—Miss Lena Wallis in the *Methodist Times*.

The following resolution was adopted by the annual meeting of the City of London Branch of the I.L.P. on March 14:—

"That this meeting expresses its sympathy with Mrs. Pankhurst and her colleagues in the fact that they are hampered in their struggle for freedom by the charge of conspiracy brought against them."

The April number of the "English Review" will contain an article by Miss Cicely Hamilton entitled "Man."

CANON SCOTT HOLLAND'S VIEW.

In a letter published in the *Church Times* of March 15 Canon Scott Holland wrote: "Of all the demoralising consequences of the disastrous policy practised by the militant women, surely among the worst is the note that you can allow yourself to write on it in your last number."

"A gentleman would remember that he is speaking of girls. A Christian would never forget the bond of a common humanity. But from your tone one would suppose that it was a matter of knocking rats on the head in the backyard."

"The evil of an appeal to brute force, such as the women have made, is that it invokes brutality to counter it."

"But that need not be the result in a paper that claims to represent the Cause of Christ."

THE REV. E. J. CAMPBELL.

In the course of his sermon in the City Temple on Sunday, March 17, Mr. Campbell said: "It is easy to say that one cannot approve of violence, that the tactics of those who destroy property are the extreme of folly, the result of hysteria, megalomania, and so on; you may reasonably maintain not only that they are wrong, but are doing actual harm to the cause their promoters have at heart, and are serving to retard instead of advancing it. But I ask you to look at this: the people who do these things must believe intensely in the worth of their object, for they are prepared to suffer for it, and they are having to suffer. When a woman of eminence like Dr. Garrett Anderson, refined, cultivated and able, willingly incurs a sentence of six weeks' hard labour in a prison cell, there is something other than self-love or silly vanity behind her action; and, whatever may be blameworthy in the action itself, it is not for those to sneer at it who have never been put to inconvenience for their convictions and never intend to be."

In our report of the London Opera House Protest Meeting in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, the New Constitutional Society was omitted from the list of societies which organised the meeting. As the N.C.S. took an active part in supporting this meeting, displayed its banner and was represented by Mrs. Cecil Chapman and Mrs. Cavendish Bantick on the platform, we gladly correct the unintentional error.

OUR POST BOX.

A FRENCH MESSAGE.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Chers Rédacteurs.—En ma qualité de Présidente du Groupement féminin cosmopolite de Paris je tiens à vous envoyer mon énergique protestation pour l'unique et inqualifiable condamnation par laquelle on a essayé de paralyser vos généreux efforts.

Cette condamnation ne peut que vous rallier de nouveaux partisans et elle n'atteint moralement que le juge dont la mentalité s'est trouvée assez vile pour la prononcer.

Alors qu'une bagarre d'étudiants ayant causé de graves dégâts on sanglante collision avec la force publique, n'entraîne pour les délinquants qu'une légère amende, on a osé vous soumettre, vous, femmes cultivées, n'agissant que pour une noble cause, à la peine du Hard Labour!

Souffrir pour l'idée fut toujours le sort des apôtres de la Liberté. L'injustice qui vous frappe vous élève, vous glorifie.

Je ne sais si ma lettre vous parviendra n'ayant pas exactement votre adresse, mais je l'écris, quand même, dans mon désir de vous envoyer une marque de ma profonde sympathie.

Recevez, Madame, l'expression de ma très grande admiration,

M. DE MORIES.

Présidente du Groupement Féminin du Cosmopolite Herald à Paris.

2, Rue des Moines, Paris.

A PAPER-SELLER'S APPRECIATION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am sure everyone that sells VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets will welcome the very kind words of Katharine Susannah Pritchard. She will encourage everyone of us, for it is a bit rough at times. I heard it said once that it does not require much skill to sell papers, but I can assure you it does require that commodity, called pluck! It has always been difficult for me to stand ridicule without retaliation, so you will understand it was no light thing for me to do, but being very militant and unable to go on deputations but once, the next best thing was to go and fight in another way. Besides, Miss Christabel, like me, believes in the necessity of getting our paper in the hands of the public, and everyone that loves her will do all she can at this crisis in our movement to work in this particular harder than ever, if such a thing is possible.—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) M. A. TUCKER.

N.U.T. CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editor,—May I, through your columns, urge upon all Suffragist teachers most strongly to refuse to support candidates for the Vice-Presidency who are against the discussion of our resolution at Hull this Easter? I have received the following from Mr. Dakers, B.A., already a member of the Executive, and a valued worker for many years in the varied interests of teachers:—

"33, Meldon Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle. Dear Miss Kendall, In reply to your query I think it will be sufficient to state that I am to second the Executive's motion in favour of Women's Suffrage at the Hull Conference. At Aberystwyth I seconded the motion for the suspension of the Standing Orders to allow of the discussion of the subject.—Yours sincerely, 'A. W. Dakers'."

All voting papers for the Vice-President (who becomes President next year) and the local delegates must be returned by the end of this month.—Yours, &c.,

M. E. KENDALL.

SHE UNDERSTOOD!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Perhaps the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN may be interested in the following anecdote from life. I was talking the other day to a working woman of seventy-eight years of age, who keeps a little sweet shop, and, as usual, she started on the Suffrage question and this is what she said:

"I was talkin' to some friends of mine the other day about this window-smashin', and they were goin' on somethin' awful about it; but I says to them—I ain't a bit surprised they done it; look at the times and times the Government have made them promises, and then broken them; now suppose I was to promise you a new dress, and when you come an' asked me for it, I put you off to another time; and you came again, and every time you come, I put you off with more promises, don't you think you would want to come and smash my windows?"—Yours, &c.,

M. H. SPALDING.

A correspondent (Liverpool), who gives no address, asks several questions and makes criticisms, all of which have been dealt with in VOTES FOR WOMEN at various times. We recommend her to read Miss Christabel Pankhurst's leading article in VOTES FOR WOMEN, December 1, 1911.

THE HAPPY WARRIOR.

A correspondent writes to say that Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" strikes a great many people as being particularly applicable to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, whose latest message to the W.S.P.U. members reminds them of

the generous spirit, who, when brought among the tasks of real life, hath wrought upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought. Whose high endeavours are an inward light That makes the path before him always bright.

Several verses of this poem appear in "Five Minutes' Daily Readings of Poetry" for April 16, which was the date of Mrs. Lawrence's release from Holloway after serving a sentence of two months' imprisonment in 1909.

NOT ALONE.

A correspondent writes from Cape Province to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence: "I'm getting old now, and on this huge farm, alone with my thoughts, I feel very lonely. My husband and three sons, all grown men, are dead against the suffrage movement, and embitter my life with their denouncement of it. So I'm alone, and again alone." [But the spirit of the woman's movement can penetrate even to your lonely home, dear lady, and we send you our greetings from Clement's Inn!—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

A correspondent writes: "I am delighted to be one of you. I feel more convinced than ever we are right. I have been at heart a member with you long, but now I will do all I can for you. I take in VOTES FOR WOMEN, and always post it on to someone. I will try and get an enlarged circulation here."

SWEATED MOTHERS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—Herewith a cutting on "Sweated Women." It speaks for itself, I think. "The Coroner said he had no idea that such low wages were paid to women for such work." He had no idea! But I venture to suggest that almost any woman one could speak to (whether "Suffragette" or not), would have had a very good "idea" how shamefully these poor women (to add to the disgrace of it, young mothers) are paid and treated. What need for clearer testimony or proof as to the necessity for more "women in command"?—Yours, &c., C. EVA G. DE R. NOLAN.

United Arts Club, Dover Street, W., February 15.

The cutting enclosed is as follows:—During an inquest on a three-months-old baby at Lambeth, the mother, Mrs. Clara Palmer, who lives at Lollard Street, Lambeth, stated that she had to wean the baby when six weeks old, in order that she could return to work. She was a machine "layer-on" and earned 8s. 6d. a week.

In answer to the coroner, the mother said she had to work six days in the week, from eight in the morning until seven. Her wage was 1s. 6d. a day.

The Coroner: It is incredible. I cannot believe it. That is not 2d. per hour. Why do you go to work?

The witness replied that her husband had been in the Army Service Corps, and had only just started work as a restaurant porter. She had had to go to work for six months while expecting the child.

The Coroner said he had no idea that such low wages were paid to women for such work. It was really dreadful to hear that a mother had to work such hours up to such a short time before giving birth to a child, and that so soon afterwards she had to go back to work at such a miserable rate of wages.

The jury returned a verdict of "Natural death."

NEARLY CONVERTED.

A correspondent writes to a member: "Although not a member of your Union, and not quite sure that I agree with its late militant action, I do wish to express admiration for, and sympathy with, the heroic women who are so nobly sacrificing themselves for the cause—the advancement and uplifting of women—the life of the nation. My fellow-workers and myself can do but little, but all that we can do in the way of trying to make the unpermeated see the need for Woman's Emancipation—and the reason behind all that so-called wanton rioting—we are resolved to do. With great admiration for the W.S.P.U., though personally a believer in the tactics of another society."

It is quite impossible to find room for more than a very small proportion of the letters and telegrams which continue to pour in. The following is a typical cablegram message: "Encouraging sympathy public meeting Orange Massachusetts.—Everett Coleman, Chairman."

And another:—"Wish speedy victory mass meeting, Brockton, Mass.—Edward Keith, Chairman."

THE MOONSHINE CABARET.

A praiseworthy effort has been made to establish in London a series of artistic entertainments on the lines of the Parisian cabarets, where is an informal and friendly way—more free and more sociable than a concert, more private and more refined than a music-hall—a dainty entertainment is offered to lovers of light music and art. "The Moonshine Cabaret" has held performances on Sundays in March at the Boudoir Theatre, Kensington, but it is hoped shortly to move to a more central position. All particulars of this excellent enterprise, the subscription for which is at present only two guineas, may be had of Miss Gladys Bay, 13a, Pembroke Place, W.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

BARNET.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Sue Watt, 13, Stratford Road.

Mrs. Drummond spoke at a members' meeting on March 19, and gave much valuable advice for local work. It is proposed to work Finchley with Barnet, and open-air meetings will be held there in April. Members please, as often as possible, Mrs. Zangwill and Mr. Joseph Clayton will speak at "Bicknell," Athenium Road, Whetstone, on April 16. Self-Denial Week was with all the hard work at collecting pitches. Special thanks to the Misses M. Mace, M. Gardiner, D. Barfield, and E. L. Gordon. Gratefully acknowledged:—Miss Helen Gay, 12s. 6d.; Mrs. Kunser, 5s.; Miss Gardiner (collected), 11s. 6d.; Miss E. L. Gordon (collected), 7s.

BOWES PARK AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss M. Garrett, 4, Stenard Road, Palmer's Green, N.

Members are reminded of the meeting on Tuesday next, when a good attendance is requested. Congratulations to members and friends on the splendid way in which they have contributed to Self-Denial Fund. Result will be announced later.

CROYDON.

Office—50, High Street, Tel. 969 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Sec.—Miss I. Green, Shop Sec.—Miss L. Hall.

Mrs. Lansdowne is warmly thanked for the Whist Drive given in aid of the funds. The Paper Captain makes an urgent appeal to all those who cannot do militant work to sell papers. Daily sellers are needed. Miss Green's idea of a walk to raise money for Self-Denial Week was well supported; a party of forty took advantage of it, and the sum of £21 was raised. Mrs. Shad's generosity in opening her house to the party and giving tea was much appreciated. Who will shop-keep on Thursday evenings from 6-8 p.m.? Gratefully acknowledged: Mr. H. Franklin, 1s. 6d.; Miss J. Green, 21s. 5s.; Miss Slade, 10s.; Mrs. Anon., 10s.; Mrs. Lowe, 1s.; Mrs. MacDermott, 10s.; Miss Bunford, 22s.; Miss Smith, 10s.; Miss Albert, 2s. 6d.; Miss Wilson, 1s.; Miss Meibie, 1s.; Miss Bond, 3s. 2d.; Mrs. Pankhurst, 1s.; Mrs. Inglis, 10s.; Mr. Inglis, 21s.; Miss Crook, 1s.; Fare returned, 2s.; Mrs. Bunford, 2s. 1d.; Mrs. Bunford, 11s. 6d.; Miss and Master Bunford, 6d.; Mrs. Phillips, 1s.; Miss and Master Phillips, 1s.; Mrs. Rowland, 5s.; Miss Kent, 2s. 6d.

FULHAM AND PUTNEY.

Shop—805, Fulham Road. Hon. Secs.—Miss L. Outten and Mrs. Roberts.

New members have been gained. The sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN has very largely increased, and much sympathetic interest has been aroused through recent occurrences. All Albert Hill tickets are sold. Special donations to Self-Denial Fund will be acknowledged later. Special thanks to Mrs. Shell-shar for her most acceptable gift of home-made marmalade, now on sale at the shop, and to the following for their help with paper selling: Miss Hudson and friend, Mrs. Shell-shar and friend, Miss Plum, Miss Cameron, Miss Hughesdon, and Miss Outten. Will members please volunteer, especially for work on Saturday (Boat Race Day), either for selling at Walham Green or Putney Bridge Stations from 10 to 1 (the race is at 11.30 a.m.), or by shop-minding while others sell?

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop—85, The Grove. Hon. Sec. (pro tem).—Miss Carson.

The Union's new shop will be opened on Monday, April 1. The Jumble Sale, which was postponed from March 16, owing to great pressure of work, will take place on Saturday, April 13, at 2.30. More paper sellers are needed.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—178, Finchley Road.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Hicks and Miss C. Collier. The Jumble Sale has been fixed for Saturday, May 4; promises of contributions should be sent in as soon as possible. Self-Denial results are most satisfactory, over 240 being contributed to the collecting card at the shop. All members are particularly urged to buy the Honorary Treasurer, Dr. L. Garrett Anderson, will have completed her unjust long sentence of six weeks with hard labour early in Easter week. Kensington members will be proud to welcome her back again. Mrs. Daigle is kindly giving an At Home as this great success. Will other hostesses be good enough to follow her example?

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel., 2116 Western. Hon. Sec.—Miss Evelyn Sharp.

A very successful meeting was held for ladies in business; two new members joined, many papers and pamphlets were sold, and all promised to come and bring friends to the next meeting to-day (Friday, see programme). Increased shop takings, new members, and magnificent paper sales, say nothing of magnificent Self-Denial Fund, all testify to what is known as "setting back the clock." Nearly 800 papers were sold in each of the last two weeks, and the highest praise is due to the gallant band of paper sellers who stood their ground and went on selling, a fortnight ago, though mobbed and attacked again and again by the idle and malicious. It is hoped that the Honorary Treasurer, Dr. L. Garrett Anderson, will have completed her unjust long sentence of six weeks with hard labour early in Easter week. Kensington members will be proud to welcome her back again. Mrs. Daigle is kindly giving an At Home as this great success. Will other hostesses be good enough to follow her example?

LEWISHAM.

Office—8a, Leampt Vale, Lewisham. Hon. Secs.—Miss Christina Campbell, Miss C. Townsend.

Members are reminded of the Saturday afternoon rally from 2 to 6 p.m. Gratefully acknowledged, for Office Rent: Per Miss Leigh, 4s. 6d.; Mrs. Brown, 2s.; Miss E. M. Chittenden, 4s. 6d.; Mrs. Bouvier, 6d.; Anonymous, 3s. Many thanks to Miss Williams for promise of 2s. a month.

NORTH ISLINGTON AND HORNSEY. Office—19, St. Thomas's Road, Finsbury Park. Hon. Sec.—Miss Bryer, 49, Tufnell Park.

By the time this is in print the local Secretary will probably be in prison. Members who cannot share that burden with her are earnestly asked to come forward and do their part in helping the cause by paper selling, chairing, or canvassing, so that the period of her imprisonment may be a record one so far as the work and funds of the Local Union are concerned.

N.W. LONDON.

Office—215, High Road, Kilburn. Tel., 1183 Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell.

A satisfactory response is being made to the £100 appeal. Will members who have not yet given or collected remember that all contributions are doubled, and avail themselves of this unique opportunity. All contributions will be acknowledged as soon as space is given in the paper. A meeting to expose the White Slave Traffic is being arranged, as so many members feel keenly about this subject. It is hoped much help will be given to ensure success. Several new members have been enrolled.

RADLETT.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. White, Gravel.

The weekly reading parties (see Programme) for the reading and discussion of Mrs. Gilman's book, "The Man-made World," continue to be a great success, good discussions following the reading. Warm thanks to the hostesses of the past three weeks—Mrs. Riddale, Mrs. Skelton, Mrs. Murray.

WALTHAMSTOW AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec.—Miss L. C. Hart, 11, Sylvan Road.

A very successful "At Home" was held in Trinity Hall on Saturday, March 23, to meet Lady Stout, who spoke on the effect of Woman's Suffrage in New Zealand. Miss Winifred Mayo took the chair. Miss Calcutt and Miss Drysdale gave great pleasure by their charming songs and recitations. New members have been enrolled this week.

WEST HAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss D. M. Hooper, Old Manor Farm, Squirrels Heath, Essex.

Very successful meetings were held at Earham Hall on February 27 and March 13, addressed by Mrs. A. J. Webb and Miss M. Naylor respectively; in both cases new members were made. On March 13 a sale of home-made provisions followed the meeting, resulting in a nice addition to Self-Denial funds. Many thanks to the members who worked so hard to make the sale a success. On March 23 a most successful Whist Drive was held at Plawston School of Music, very kindly lent by Miss Margaret Wilcox. Prizes were given by Miss Healey and Miss Jacobs, and the evening will result in a good addition to local funds. Will members bear in mind the Jumble Sale, the date of which will be announced shortly? Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Stewart, 1s.; Mrs. Moore, 2s.; Anonymous, 5s.; Miss D. Brown, 7s.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop—2, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Tel., 1092, P.O. Wimbledon. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Merton, Surrey.

Never before has the paper sold so quickly, making it impossible to meet the demand, in spite of fresh supplies. Enormous crowds have attended open-air meetings, and scarcely a vacant seat has been visible at the Lecture Hall since militancy was resumed. Mr. Lansbury made a deep impression on his audience, who greatly appreciated his keeping the engagement. Both he and Mrs. Webb stirred Wimbledon to action. Thanks to the mysterious visitor who deposited his offering of gold so dramatically on the chairman's table. The Lecture Hall meetings will re-open on Thursday, May 9, with an address on "Sex War," by Mr. Laurence Houseman.

WIMBLEDON PARK AND S. WIMBLEDON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Allan, 79, Woodside, Wimbledon. Tel., 1037 P.O.

During Self-Denial Week successful open-air evening meetings were held at Southfields (Mrs. Dacre Fox), Wimbledon (Mrs. Hearne), Merton (G. T. Heard, Esq.), Raynes Park (Miss C. I. Green), and Wimbledon Broadway (Mrs. Dacre-Fox and Miss Daisy Gibb). That at Southfields was particularly promising, and a meeting will be held there next week (see programme) by request. Much quiet propaganda work is also being done, and many thousands of leaflets distributed. More paper sellers are urgently required to take the place of those temporarily unable, through illness, to carry out this branch of their work. Volunteers, please apply to Hon. Sec. In the Broadway on Saturday last the speakers were Mrs. G. T. Heard, Theodore Eugenheim, Esq., and Malcolm Mitchell, Esq. (chair). Excellent addresses were given, and the audience was a large one. Other Unions, please note that the Court train used in "The 212 Look" can be hired for 2s. 6d. a performance and carriage both ways.

Home Counties.

REXHILL-ON-SEA.

Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen. Hon. Sec.—Miss Stewart.

Members have worked splendidly to make the new shop a great success. Very many thanks to Miss Stewart, who has most generously provided chairs, tables, bookshelves, &c., also an exceptionally interesting "Suffrage Library" for members and friends. The sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN is increasing each week. Many new members have joined, and a great deal of interest is shown on all sides. Subscriptions promised yearly: Mrs. Kent, £4 a year, and Miss Barnett, £1 a year; Miss Parsons, £1 a year.

Tues., April 2.—W.S.P.U. Shop, "Marina," At Home, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 3 p.m.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

March.			
Friday, 29	Harrow Road, Princes of Wales.	Miss Elia Myers, Mrs. Robson	8 p.m.
" "	Harria, corner of Burgoyne Road	Miss Darton	8 p.m.
" "	Inns of Court Hotel, Holborn, W.C.	M.P.U. At Home, Mrs. Partee, Miss Eva Moore, Lieut. Cather, R.N.	
" "	Kensington, 137a, The Mansions, High Street.	Hostess: Mrs. Hepburn	8 p.m.
" "	Clapham Junction, Alford Road	Miss Margaret Collum, Miss Prior, and others	8 p.m.
Saturday, 30	High Barnet, Market Place.	Miss Heatley	8 p.m.
" "	Ilford, Balfour Road	Miss Bonwick, B.A.	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Jones Bros., Holloway Rd.	Mrs. Kinkead	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Corner of Hornsey and Seven Sisters Road	Miss Hopkins. Chair: Miss Randall	8 p.m.
" "	Kingston, Market Place	Miss Shoults	8 p.m.
" "	Leamington, 2a, Leampt Vale, Dr. L. Garrett Anderson	Members Rally	11.30 a.m.
" "	Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill	Miss Wright	3 to 5 p.m.
" "	Walthamstow, Church Hill	Miss Glover	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Broadway	Miss Gwen Richard	7.30 p.m.
Sunday, 31	Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff	Miss Isabel Baymourt	11.30 a.m.
" "	Hyde Park, W.	Miss Dugdale. Chair: V. Front, Esq.	3 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Common	Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m.
Monday, 1	London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W.	Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, Mrs. Massey, Miss Evelyn Sharp, — Radcliffe Weaver Esq.	2.15 p.m.
Tuesday, 2	Edgware Road, Nutford Place, W.	Mrs. Brindley, Miss Smythe	8 p.m.
" "	Hammersmith, 35, The Grove	Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
" "	Hampstead, 178, Finchley Road	Working Party	3-5 p.m.
" "	Hornsey, The Fountain, High Street	Miss Dacre, Miss Bonwick, B.A.	8 p.m.
" "	Palmer's Green, 6, Stenard Road	Members' Meeting	7.30 p.m.
Wednesday, 3	Barking, Ripple Road	Mrs. Dacre-Fox, Mrs. G. T. Heard	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Highbury Corner	Miss Hopkins. Chair: Miss Randall	8 p.m.
Thursday, 4	Paddington, 53, Prad Street, W.	Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	2.15 p.m.
" "	Radlett, "Black Warren"	Reading Party	4.15 to 5 p.m.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Office—221, Old Christchurch Road.
Hon. Sec.—Miss E. Berry.

Members and friends much enjoyed the At Home given by Miss Morgan Jones at the office on Wednesday evening, March 20, when Miss Howes and Mrs. Lobley spoke, and Miss Millward recited. For the future, offices will be open on Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. for members to meet and talk. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss E. Thibant, 1a; Miss Turner, 2a, 6d. for Albert Hall purse; Mrs. Bulan, 10a; Miss Beyerhauser, 2a, 6d.; Miss Morgan Jones, 5a; Miss Keefe, 2a, 6d.; Miss Ansell, 5a; Miss Proctor, 1a; Miss Harding, 2a; Miss Bulan, 5a; Mrs. Oaler, 5a; Miss B. Berry, 2a, 6d.; Mrs. Lobley, 1a; Mrs. Wear, 2a, 6d.; Miss Golding, 2a, 6d.; Miss Williams, 2a; Mrs. Bottomley, 2a; Miss Ireland, 1a; Mrs. P. Shaw, 1a; Miss Shaw, 1a, 6d.; Miss L. Shaw, 2a, 6d.; Miss Millward, 1a; Mrs. Ansell, 2a; Miss Salvi, 5a; Miss Blackledge, 5a; Mrs. Whipp, 2a; Miss E. A. Turle, 2a; Mrs. Sanderson, 2a; Mrs. F. Kerr, 5a; Miss L. Lindsay, 10a; Misses Brailley, 5a; Mrs. Hands, 5a.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Organiser—Miss P. E. M. Macaulay, Trevarra, 30, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone.

The Organiser begs to thank very heartily all those friends who have so kindly given her At Homes and drawing-room meetings, or arranged for her to speak in connection with other societies. She is very anxious to have as many meetings as possible immediately after Easter, and will be glad to hear from those who can help in this valuable way.

EASTBOURNE.

Temporary Headquarters—10, Southfields Road. Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Sibilla Jones.

Will all members and friends make a point of attending to-morrow's (Saturday) meeting, when future plans will be arranged. The Organiser is very anxious to start a branch shop, and would be glad to hear from anyone who is able to subscribe. Sat., Mar. 30.—Marlborough Tea Rooms, Grove Road. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 3.30 p.m.

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Shop—8, Trinity Street, Hastings.
Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen.

The weekly "At Home" are being well attended, and good reports are inserted in the principal local paper weekly. Thanks to all members who helped so well with the sale held in aid of Self-Denial Fund. Owing to the untiring individual efforts of members, more than £20 is being sent up from this Union. More volunteers are needed for paper selling. The sale is increasing, and could be much larger if members would come forward. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Webb, 10a; Miss Tristram, 10a; Miss Read, 10a; Mrs. MacMunow, cakes for Sale; Mrs. Chibbald, flowers and eggs for Sale; Mrs. Sieveking, cakes for Sale.

Mon., April 1.—Hastings, 8, Trinity Street. At Home. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 4.6 p.m.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss L. H. Peacock, 4, Pelham Road, Portsmouth.

Members are thanked for their efforts during Self-Denial Week. The total collected will be announced at the Albert Hall meeting on March 28. The paper is selling well, but more volunteers are needed for paper selling. Please remember Jumble Sale on April 27. Contributions may be sent to any committee member.

Southampton.—Fri., Mar. 23.—Elocution class at Messrs. Hodges, Above Bar, 6.45 p.m.

READING AND NEWBURY.

Shop and Office—49, Market Place.
Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss O. L. Cobb.

Weekly "At Home" for members are held every Tuesday at 3 p.m.; tea, 3d. each. The marmalade made at the "Marmalade Party" is on sale at the shop. Many thanks to Mrs. Dick for kindly lending her kitchen. Members are reminded that annual subscriptions are due early in April. Those already promised amount to about £20.

REDHILL.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cather, The Red Cottage, Cavendish Road.

Fri., Mar. 23.—Carlton Room. Members' meeting. 7 p.m.

Sat., Mar. 30.—Dorking, Foster Parade, 3 p.m.—5 p.m. Dorking, High Street. Open-air meeting.

Liend. Cather, R.N. Chair: Miss Ford. 7 p.m.

Wed., April 3.—Carlton Room. Members' meeting. 6 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—97, John Bright Street. Tel., 1443 Midland.

Organiser—Miss Grew.

The office will be closed for Easter holidays from April 4 to 15 except Friday, April 12, when it will be open from 10 to 1 for sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN. More paper sellers are wanted, and also volunteers for special poster parades on Saturday morning and Monday night to advertise the Protest Meeting on Tuesday, April 2. There will be no meetings at Queen's College on Wednesdays, April 3 and 10.

Sun., Mar. 31.—Stourbridge Labour Hall. Mrs. Bewie Smith, 6.30 p.m.

Tues., April 2.—Birmingham, Temperance Hall, Temple Street. Lady Constance Lytton, Mr. Laurence Houseman. Chair: Mr. Leonard Hall, 8 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—6, Carlton Street. Tel., 4511.

Organisers—Miss Roberts and Miss Crocker.

There will be a meeting at the Friends' Adult School, Friar Lane, on April 9 at 8 p.m., when Miss Laura Ainsworth will speak. Mrs. Simon in the chair. Will all members send Self-Denial cards to Clement's Inn or 6, Carlton Street? Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts wish to thank all who have written to them or sent them parcels. Thanks to members who have helped with paper selling. More sellers are wanted, as the circulation here has doubled during the last two weeks. The Address Franchise League will give a performance in Circus Street Hall on April 15. Particulars can be had from Mrs. R. Hutchinson, Tattersall Drive, The Park.

STAFFORD.

Organiser—Miss Grew, 1, Ballhaze Terrace, Leek, Staffs.

Fri., Mar. 23.—Leek Town Hall. The Lady Isabel Hampden Margetson, Mrs. Drummond, 8 p.m.

West of England.

BRISTOL.

Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dove Wilcox.

Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Young.

The organiser would be glad if helpers would come down to the shop to see what they can do, she can always find work for willing hands. More open-air speakers are needed. This is a glorious opportunity for those who cannot take their share in militant work. Jumbles are urgently needed. Miss Alice Walters has the jumble sale in hand. It will be held in Redmister directly there is a sufficient number of articles. Mrs. A. J. Webb delighted her hearers at a well-attended weekly At Home. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss A. Priestman, 21; Miss M. Priestman, 21; Mrs. T. Paul, 21; Mrs. Gee, 21; Miss Wilson, 5a; Mrs. Cuthbert Hicks, 2a, 6d.; Mrs. Barrett, 21; Mrs. Fowler, 2a, 6d.; Mrs. Clark, 5a; Mrs. Blair, 5a, 6d.; collection, Victoria Rooms.

1a; Miss Jessie Smith, 4a, 1d.; collection, Victoria Rooms, 10a, 1d.; Mrs. D. E. Watkins, 10a.

Mon., April 1.—Clifton, Victoria Rooms. Rev. Geoffrey Startup. At Home, 3.30 p.m.

FALMOUTH AND PENRYN.

Hon. Organiser—Mrs. Vans Agnew Corbett, The Sunslow, Falmouth. Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Pascoe and Mrs. English.

Intense interest has been shown in the arrest of Mrs. Pascoe, who is due to be released to-morrow. Saturday. Members have testified their admiration for her fine protest, and their firm determination to continue the struggle until victory is assured by subscribing £28 14s. 6d. during Self-Denial Week. 25 of which they are sending up to the Albert Hall Meeting Fund. The remainder will be kept for local work.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Organiser—Miss Flatman, Lauriston House, Hereford.

The long-delayed campaign in Hereford has been started. Members having friends in the district are asked to communicate with the Organiser at once. All Gloucestershire members are asked to send in Self-Denial cards without delay. Many thanks for those already sent.

Wales.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, R.Sc., 93, Minian Road, Cardiff.

On Thursday, March 21, the second of the series of monthly At Homes was held at the Art Room, Welsh Industries Buildings, and was very well attended. Miss Barrett in the chair. Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson the chief speaker. New members were made, and volunteers secured for paper selling. The street sales have been very good during the last fortnight. Members are asked to make a special effort to keep them up during the critical weeks of the leaders' trial.

PONTPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Wilton, Treloard, Pontypool.

A very well attended members' meeting was held at Nanteg House on Friday afternoon, March 22, by courtesy of Mrs. Butler. It was decided to form a Local Union to carry on the work in North Monmouthshire. A committee was appointed, with Miss Wilton as Secretary and Mrs. Butler as Treasurer. It was decided to hold an At Home every month in Pontypool and Giffithstown alternately, and to hold a public meeting in the Town Hall, Pontypool, at which Mrs. Bralford will be the speaker. The proceeds of the Jumble Sale recently held were announced as £23 12s.

Eastern Counties.

CLACTON-ON-SEA.

Shop—47, Rosemary Road.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Lilley, Holland House.

Tues., April 2.—47, Rosemary Road. All members and friends invited, 8 p.m.

FELKESTOWE.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Lowy, Woodcroft, Bath Road.

Many thanks to Mrs. Girling for so very kindly arranging a drawing-room meeting at her house during the week. It was greatly to be regretted that Mrs. Webb was unable to be present. Mrs. Girling and the Organiser addressed the meeting. Miss Lowy presiding. A great deal of interest has been aroused and new members made. Many thanks to all who have helped so splendidly for Self-Denial Week. Mrs. Dexter's Whist Drives were an unqualified success. The next meeting will take place on April 16, when Miss Isabel Seymour will speak.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Shop—Dial Lane, Ipswich. Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.
Shop Sec.—Miss King.

Help of every kind has been forthcoming during the past weeks—new members have been made, the paper has had a record sale, and members who hitherto have not sold papers in the streets have come forward for the first time. Help of this kind is indeed valuable. Many thanks to all who have helped to make recent meetings so successful. Members are now doing all in their power to make the Co-operative Hall Meeting, which will take place on Thursday, April 11, at 8 p.m., a great success. Mrs. Mamel and others will speak. Tickets, 1s. and 6d., can be obtained at the shop. The back of Hall will be free to women.

NORWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Margaret West, 6, Essex Street. Office—68, London Street, Norwich.

Members are reminded that the new offices will be opened on Monday, April 1; office hours, 11-1 and 2.30-5. It is hoped that Norwich members will make a point of calling at the offices at least once a week, and that country members will call whenever they are in the city. It is proposed to hold a public meeting in Norwich towards the end of April. Will those who have not yet forwarded their Self-Denial contributions kindly do so as soon as possible?

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD.

Otley. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Hardy Behrins.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Millar Wilson, Belmont.

Otley. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Hardy Behrins.

The Local Union has suffered the loss by removal of no less than five valuable members during the last few weeks. Mrs. Beldon, who as Hon. Sec. has done so much to build up the Union; Miss Mary and Miss Kathleen Beldon, indefatigable workers; Mrs. Bompa, Literature Sec., who must be thanked for clearing up accounts and starting the Union upon a sound business footing; and Miss Urquhart, who will be missed as speaker. At a special meeting held on Friday, March 22, Miss Millar Wilson was appointed Hon. Sec., Miss Newton and Miss Nora Newton Literature Secretaries, Miss Vaughan "Votes" Secretary with Miss Collins, Miss Ores Shop Sec., while Miss Shanker was asked to help the Treas. Secretary during the illness of Mrs. Philipp. There will be a Jumble Sale in the Shop on Monday, April 1, 2.30 to 5.30, and 6 to 7.30. There will be no Speakers' Class on April 1.

HALIFAX AND HUDDERSFIELD.

Organiser—Miss Annie Williams, 1, Fitzwilliam Street West, Huddersfield.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Lettice Floyd.

Getting new members and new readers for VOTES FOR WOMEN must be the Easter holiday task. The organiser will be away from April 4 to the 15th, and asks members to send her their self-denial cards and monies collected before she goes. Thanks to Miss H. Whitton for her help in getting up the very successful meeting at Elland on March 12. Who will volunteer to sell the paper for an hour on Saturdays?

Mon., April 1.—Huddersfield, 1, Fitzwilliam Street West. Organiser's At Home, 2.4 p.m.

Tues., April 2.—Halifax, Mechanic's Institute, 8 p.m.

Wed., April 3.—Huddersfield, Parochial Hall, 8 p.m.

MULL.

Office—105, Colman Street.
Hon. Sec.—Miss E. Trill.

A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held in Telford Rooms, and addressed by Miss Mary Phillips. The following resolution was passed unanimously: "That this meeting deplores the

necessity for militant action, and calls upon the Government to immediately put a stop to such action in the only way in which this can be done—by passing a Bill this Session to enfranchise men and women on equal terms." New members were enrolled, a large amount of literature sold, and a substantial collection taken. Subscriptions are urgently needed to support the local work. During the past fortnight Mrs. Walter Holmes has carried on a very active street selling campaign, and as many as fifteen dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been sold. The committee's best thanks to Dr. Webster for his able and sympathetic presidency.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cookridge Street.
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.

Great inroads have been made on the parcel of "Broken Window" leaflets, but several thousands still remain to be distributed. Miss Palmer, who is organising a house to house distribution, will be glad if members will help in this work. Much notice has been attracted by Miss Battle's novel scheme of advertising the Protest Meeting, when she paraded her splendid Great Dane, "Tiger," as a canine sandwichman.

Tues., April 2.—Leeds, 3, Cookridge Street. Afternoon tea, 3.30-5.30 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street. Tel. No. 4591 Central.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth.

Mrs. Atkinson will hold a surprise tea at 77, Blackett Street, to-morrow (Saturday) afternoon, at 5 p.m. All who are invited will be required to pay 3d. admission, bring with them goods to the amount of 3d., and buy a ticket at 3d., which entitles them to a prize. Tea will be provided free.

Sat., Mar. 30.—Newcastle, Haymarket, 7.30 p.m.

Sun., Mar. 31.—Stockton, I.L.P. Miss Laura Ainsworth, 7.30 p.m.

Mon., April 1.—Jarrow, Union Street, 7.30 p.m.

Tues., April 2.—Coxhoe Debating Society. Miss Laura Ainsworth, 7.30 p.m.

Wed., April 3.—Newcastle, 1, Blackett Street. Members' meeting and speakers' class, 7.30 p.m.

Fri., April 5.—South Shields, Market Place, 7.30 p.m.

ROTHERHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Black, 3, Highfields, Doncaster Road.

An attentive and interested audience listened to Mrs. Scudfield and Miss Mary Phillips last Monday, and the resolution calling upon the Government to enfranchise women this session was carried unanimously. Copies were forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Minister for Education, who is member for Rotherham.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Shop—26, Chapel Walk, Sheffield.
Hon. Sec.—Miss F. E. Coxhill.

At Homes will be given at the Endcliffe Hall on Friday and Saturday, April 19 and 20, when "How the Vote was Won" will be acted, followed by speeches. Admission by invitation only. Will members please call at the shop as soon as possible for cards for themselves and any friends they would like invited? Members are asked to Steward at both At Homes. Many thanks to unknown friend for gift of jewellery, which has been forwarded to headquarters. Wednesday, April 3, important members' meeting, 7 p.m.

YORK.

Office—Colby Chambers, Telephone, 692 Coppergate.

Organiser—Miss V. Key-Jones.

Grateful thanks to Miss Alice Saffield for successful Office Cakes Sale. Members and sympathisers are looking forward to Mrs. Drummond's meeting on Monday. More helpers are wanted for chalking party on Monday, April 1, office 8 a.m. A decorated carriage leaves Office at 3 p.m. Saturday, and on Monday at 11.45. Open-air meetings begin again after Easter. Helpers wanted as "Votes" sellers and Stewards. Miss Annie Williams of Huddersfield addresses an open-air meeting this week.

Mon., April 1.—Central Hall, Exhibition Buildings. Mrs. Drummond, 8 p.m.

Wed., April 3.—Office, speakers' class, 8. Key Jones, Reg., 8 p.m.

North-Western Counties.

MANCHESTER.

Office—32, King Street West.
Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Williamson, B.A.

Treasurer—Mrs. Ratcliffe.

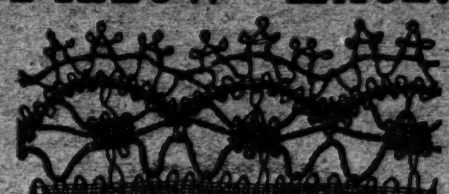
Several new members have joined since March 4. Will all come to the weekly meeting and offer to do a definite piece of work? Any tickets bought for the postponed Free Trade Hall Meeting will admit to the next great meeting, a Jumble Sale will be held on the afternoon of April 27, and in the evening a dramatic performance, concert, and speeches will be given in the same schoolroom. Will members and friends contribute everything they can dispense with and so add to the funds? Weekly meetings, Fridays, 7 to 10.

SOUTHPORT.

1, Post Office Avenue, Lord Street.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Gertrude Duxfield.

Wed., April 3.—Members' Meeting, 7.30 p.m.

PILLOW LACE.



No. 100. Old per yard. Awarded Gold Medal at the Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition, Crystal Palace, 1911.

The workers have a beautiful collection of Collars, Ties, Fronts, Handkerchiefs, Sew, Yokes, Stocks, Plaques, Jabots, etc., from 1/6, 2/6, 3/6 up. Berthel, Five o'clock Tea and Snacks, D'Oyley, &c., and everything that can be made in lace. Yard and In-section from 8d. 9d., 1/- up to 10/- per yard. Booklets, entitled "An Interesting Home Industry," illustrating over 100 designs of Pillow Lace, sent post free to any part of the world. The lace makers are very glad of any orders, however small.

Bucks Hand-made Pillow Lace outwards any machine-made variety many times over.

Write at once to: Mrs. H. Armstrong, THE COURT, OLNEY, BUCKS.

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Write at once to: Mrs. H. Armstrong, THE COURT, OLNEY,

Scotland.

DUNDEE AND EAST FIFE.
Office—61, Nethergate, Organiser—Miss Fraser Smith.

The Organiser wishes to take the opportunity of thanking all those who helped in different ways to make the Cake and Candy Sale and Play such a great success. The drawings amounted to almost £30. On March 5 a very successful drawing-room meeting was given by Mrs. Mackay, of Freefield, Blairgowrie. Mrs. Brailford was unfortunately not able to be present, so her place was taken by Miss Fraser Smith. Mrs. Mackay has kindly consented to act as Hon. Sec. of the Blairgowrie Local Union, and it is hoped to hold monthly meetings. An excellent "At Home" was held at 61, Nethergate, on March 20, when Mrs. Methven was the speaker. An amusing Suffrage dialogue was given by Dr. Julia Pringle and Miss Fraser Smith. Open-air meetings have been held at the High School Gates and elsewhere. The audiences have been large and sympathetic. Extra help in keeping the office and selling the paper is badly needed. Who will offer? The At Home on April 3 will be the last before the Easter holidays. Will any who have not yet sent in their Self-Denial cards let the Organiser have them without delay?

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.
Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street, Organiser—Miss Lucy Burns.
Shop Sec.—Miss E. Hudson. Tel., 6182 Central.

The Thursday meetings, at which Miss Morag Burn Murdoch, Mrs. Pinkerton Gould, Mrs. A. Thomson, and Miss Mary M. Burnett (Glasgow) were the speakers, have been large and successful. An energetic open-air campaign has been carried on for the last three weeks by Miss M. Burn Murdoch and the Messrs. Scott, assisted by Mrs. Curran, Miss Nellie Shaw, Miss McDonald, Miss Houston, Mrs. C. Brown, and a number of other speakers and paper sellers. As a result, the weekly sale of Votes for Women has more than doubled. Miss Methven thanks the Edinburgh members for their prompt response to the appeal for funds during Self-Denial Week. New members have joined. During the Easter holidays the Thursday meetings (April 4 and 11) will not be held; but the shop will be kept open, and outdoor work will go on as usual.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.
Shop and Office—502, Sauchiehall Street, Tel., 615, Charing Cross. Hon. Org. Sec.—Miss F. McPhun. Organiser—Miss Parker.

Excellent attendances marked the three At Homes since March 4. Dr. Mabel Jones (Glasgow), Miss Rose (Edinburgh), Mrs. Drummond, Miss Lucy Burns, and Miss Janie Allan were the speakers. On March 22nd, Miss Allan spoke on the blocking of the White Slave Traffic Bill. Miss Burn Murdoch (Edinburgh) also spoke, and Miss McArthur (Glasgow) took the chair. Over £50 is being sent to headquarters as the local contribution to self-denial.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement.

Offices—13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone—City 6673.
Hon. Organising Sec.—Victor D. Duval.

Will members and friends attend in full force at the At Home to be held at the Inns of Court Hotel (Holborn entrance) this (Friday) evening at 8 p.m.? Mrs. Hepburn has kindly consented to act as hostess. A debate, "Votes for Women," was opened by Mr. E. Duval on March 19 at Walthamstow, at the invitation of the local branch of the Primrose League, and roused a great deal of interest. Miss G. Brackenbury, Miss Lennox, and Lieut. Cather addressed a very large audience in Hyde Park on Sunday, March 24. The treasurer makes a strong appeal to members to contribute to a special Self-

Denial Fund, which will be open for the next fortnight.

Already acknowledged	£ 1,467 9 8
E. A. McCann, Esq.	5 0
Ernest Brown, Esq.	10 0
Dr. H. B. Hanson	5 0
W. Lunn, Esq.	5 0
Mrs. Morris (February 29)	20 0
Membership fees	4 0
Sundry receipts	8 6 0
	1,486 18 8

CLERKS' W.S.P.U.

Hon. Secs.—Miss Cynthia Maguire, 39, Priory Road, N.W.; Miss F. A. Ayrton, 63, Edith Road, W. Kensington.

The Jumble Sale was a great success on Monday last, thanks to all those who helped in every way. A meeting especially for business women will be held shortly. "Clers" members of the W.S.P.U. who are interested are asked to write for particulars to Miss Maguire or Miss Ayrton.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 151. President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson.

Organising Secretary—Miss G. M. Condon. The Leap Year Dance was held at Prince's Galleries on Tuesday, March 19, and was an enormous success. Dancing, which began at 10 p.m., was kept up until nearly 5 a.m., and even then, after such an enjoyable evening, many of the guests seemed reluctant to leave. The Committee will be at Home to members and their friends at 2, Robert Street, Adelphi to-day (Friday) at 3 p.m. Hostess: Miss Maud Hoffman; chair, Miss Inez Bensan; speakers, Miss Ada Moore and Miss F. Campbell Patterson. The next public meeting will be held at the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, April 12, at 3 p.m. (Please note change of date.) Madame Laskoon will be the hostess, and Miss Maud Hoffman will take the chair. Speakers: Lady Shout, Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley, and Philip Snowden, Esq., M.P. The Committee will be at Home to members and their friends at 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, on Friday, March 29, at 3 p.m. Miss Maud Hoffman will be hostess, and Miss Inez Bensan will take the chair. Speakers: Miss Ada Moore and Miss Flora Campbell Patterson.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Office—8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Hon. Secs.—Miss Jean Forsyth, Miss Gladys Wright, B.A.

Miss I. O. Ford gave a most interesting address on "The Industrial Woman and her Attitude to the Vote" at the office At Home on Tuesday, March 19. Next Tuesday Mrs. Tite will be hostess, and Mr. Cameron Grant will speak on "Man, Woman, and the Machine." Organisers are now working at Ashford, Dulwich, and Rye, and will be glad of help. A public meeting will be held at the Central Hill Hall, Norwood, this Friday evening, when Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss McGowan, and Mr. Cameron Grant will speak. Volunteers for outdoor speaking, bill-distributing, and canvassing are needed.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Office—51, Maudford Street, Baker Street, W. Hon. Secs.—Miss Beatrice Gadsby, B.A., Miss M. E. Kendall, L.L.B.

Members are asked to note that the office will be closed for Easter holidays from April 3 to

April 18. Gratefully acknowledged towards Campaign Fund: Miss O'Sullivan, £1 1s.; Miss Stafford, 2s.; Mrs. McNulty, 2s.; Miss O'Brien, 2s. 6d.; Miss R. O'Sullivan, £1; Mrs. Cunliffe, 2s. 6d.; Anon., per Miss Gadsby, 2s. 6d.; Anon., per Miss Smyth-Pigott, £1 1s.; Mrs. E. A. Fife, 2s. 6d.; Miss Foxley, 2s. 6d.; M. D. D., Dr. Allos Vows Johnson, 2s. 6d.; Miss Grace Kennett, 2s. 6d.; Miss Angler, £1; Mrs. Clanchey, 2s.; Mrs. Charles, 2s.; Miss N. J. Larky, 1s. 6d.; Mrs. Toker, 2s.; Mrs. M. Currier, 2s. 6d.; Miss McNamara, 10s.; Miss Willis, 2s.

IRISH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Hon. Sec.—Miss G. O'Connell Hayes, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand.

An open meeting will be held at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., on Tuesday, April 2, at 8 p.m. A whistle drive is being arranged for Saturday, April 20, at 8 p.m. Members, please support. The hon. sec. would be glad to hear not later than April 13 what tickets will be required. Mrs. Casey, who presented the prizes on the last occasion, has kindly volunteered to do so again this time, and has also undertaken to defray all expenses in connection with the drive.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY 60, Upper St. London, E.

MR. OSWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon.
MR. FRANK G. BOUCHER, Assist. Dental Surgeon.
Established 35 years.

Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. F.R.S., F.R.C.S.

A record of 30,000 successful cases. Nurses in attendance. Mechanical work in all its branches.

THE BEST ARTIFICIAL TEETH from 5s

Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Tel. No. 6348 Central. No Show-case at door.

A GOOD PROFESSION

A well-trained masseuse can earn from £5 to £10 per week. To become fully qualified takes from two to four months and costs from five to twelve guineas. For particulars apply to Marnox, Harley Institute, 66 Paddington Street, W. Telephone, 3385 Paddington.

RUSKIN FABRICS
Founded by J. Ruskin in 1881 for the manufacture of Pure Wool into FINE CLOTHING & HOSIERY.
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Latest Designs. THREE are the most perfect produced, giving the highest in His Class. Made of the Choicest Materials and CORSETS. Flexible Bones.

PRICES 21s., 42s., 63s.
—TERMS STRICTLY CASH.

Also Special Display of LINGERIE of the most Dainty Styles

31, Conduit Street, New Bond Street, W.
—Carriage to all parts of the Kingdom.

E. DAY & CO., Tel. No. 2848 P.O. Nampstead

FRENCH CLEANING & DYING WORKS.

NETTOWASH & SEC.

5, Brecknock Road, and 375, High Street, Camden Town, N.W.

Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable Shades.

Receiving Houses: 19, Russell Gardens Kensington, W. 63, Roslyn Hill Hampstead, N.W.

THE HANOVER DRESS COMPANY

Genuine MODELS &c from the leading Parisian and London firms at LESS THAN COST PRICES.

Gowns and Costumes completed by experienced fitters.

35, OLD BOND STREET, near PICCADILLY. Tel., 6183 Ger.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s.; 1d. per word for every additional word.
(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

(Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.)

GIVEN FOR SELF-DENIAL FUND.

We are anxious to sell the following articles in order to add the amount realised to the total of the Self-Denial Fund:—

- Brooch, large amethyst, set pearls and gold £2 2 0
- Fine gold neck-chain, set baroc pearls and topaz 2 2 0
- Gold chain bracelet (basket pattern) 1 1 0
- Lady's dressing, set five large pearls 3 3 0
- Topaz charm (heart) 0 5 0
- Miniature, hand-painted, copy of Sir Joshua Reynolds "Lady and Child," in National Gallery 3 3 0
- Six linen handkerchiefs, hand-made, drawn thread work, each 0 2 6

Offers for any of the above would be considered. Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale Silk Persian Rug, 3yds by 1yds, suitable for sofa cover or portiere; beautiful dark colours. Price £2 2s. Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale fine hand-made crochet lace; collar, cuffs, and three strips each measuring half-yard. Price 17s. 6d. A handkerchief with deep border of hand-made lace. Price £1 1s. Proceeds to go to W.S.P.U. funds. Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft.)—Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house; 25 bedrooms; billiard room; bath-room. Extensive grounds. Tennis. Conveyances. Vegetarians accommodated. Suffragists welcomed. Board-residence, 35s. 6d. to 35s. Photos, prospectus, Chas. Hallam, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

A BOARD-RESIDENCE (superior).—26, KENSINGTON GARDENS SQUARE, HYDE PARK. Excellent position. Close Queen's Road Tube and Whiteley's. Private gardens. Most comfortable, clean, quiet. Good cooking. Lib. table. From 21s. Highest refs.

A NICE little bed-sitting-room, furnished, 7s. 6d. per week.—Mrs. Winter, 32, Doughty Street, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.

ATTRACTIVE rooms in private villa; garden, south aspect, bath, modern comforts. Near Habbicome Bay. Golf, tennis, shops. Moderate to Suffragettes.—Devon, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

BARON'S COURT, BOSCOMBE, BOURNEMOUTH.—High-class Boarding Establishment. Moderate.

BOARD-RESIDENCE for students, visitors to London, and others. Comfortable home. Moderate terms.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and Breakfast 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4330 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Terms, 25s. to 30s. Easter from 5s. per day.—Mrs. Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

COMFORTABLE bed-sitting-room in nice house and street. Also bed and breakfast from 7s. Bright, comfortable home. Vegetarian if required.—48, Rostrevor Road, Fulham.

FOLKESTONE.—Roycewood, Castle Hill Avenue. Board-Residence. Best part. Moderate terms. Close to sea, theatre, and Central Station. Well recommended.—Proprietress.

FOLKESTONE, Trevorra, Bouverie Road West.—Board-residence or private apartments. Excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables.—Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

FURNISHED Apartments, close to Leas and Sea; well recommended; good cooking and attendance; terms moderate; board if desired.—Mrs. Hartley, 24, Bouverie Square, Folkestone. W.S.P.U.

LADIES received as guests in pretty country house on moderate terms. Cookery lessons given by Diplôme if required.—St. Joseph's, The Oaks, Loughborough.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 12s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 15s. 6d.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 12s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day. Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 48, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, Spend your Holidays with Miss Turner, W.S.P.U., 55a, View, Victoria Road, Brighton. Tel. 1702. Best Cook. Home-made bread and other comforts. Moderate terms.

TWO LADIES (gardening, poultry-farming) receive Paying Guests. Charming house; croquet; lovely moorland country; good stretching, cycling; open-air swimming-bath. Terms, 30s. Little-Barrington, Coughdon College, Verwood, Dorset.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE. Temporary or permanent. Homelike. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 3s.—Madame Veigel, 53 and 55, Harford Road, Raywater, W. This establishment is to be disposed of.

TO LET, Etc.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens. Prices from £375; easy instalments: rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 33, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

HAMPSTEAD.—Part of Furnished Flat. Separate kitchen; bath; electric light; gas stoves. Near tube.—Box 238, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

HIGHGATE.—Suite of well-furnished rooms. Sitting, piano; bedroom, gas fire; kitchen, gas cooker. Tiled bathroom, geyser. Separate gas-metre. 30s. weekly. Letter first.—45, Langdon Park Road.

LADY, having commodious flat, wishes another to share. Near buses, trams, and three stations. Terms according to requirements.—Miss J. 44, Brandishow Road, Putney.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for Meetings. At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

LONDON, W.C.—Six good Rooms; upper part of house; very centrally situated; every separate accommodation.—Apply 8, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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